

The University of Chicago

MUNICIPAL
POLICE ADMINISTRATION IN
TEXAS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
1939

By
R. WELDON COOPER

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
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FOREWORD

This work was originally conceived and outlined in 1937 when Mr. R. Weldon Cooper was associated with the Bureau of Municipal Research at The University of Texas. From the spring of that year until the late summer of 1938 he gave the greater portion of his time and energy to directing the work and moulding the form of the present volume. In September of this year Mr. Cooper became Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Alabama.

Due credit must be given to Mr. E. G. Conroy, who formerly served this Bureau as a Research Assistant. He was responsible for most of the field work done in connection with the study and also assisted in the early stages of preparing the manuscript. His intimate knowledge of and practical experience in police administration proved most valuable to this undertaking.

The Bureau of Municipal Research desires to take this opportunity to express its appreciation to the numerous municipal officials and especially police chiefs throughout the State of Texas without whose assistance and coöperation this study would have been impossible. To this group we acknowledge our greatest obligation. Further expression of appreciation is extended to Chief O. W. Wilson of Wichita, Kansas, who reviewed the entire manuscript in detail, made a considerable number of valuable suggestions, and prepared an introduction to the study.

Further acknowledgment is made to Mr. E. E. McAdams, Executive Secretary of the League of Texas Municipalities, and to Mr. C. C. Crutchfield, Field Representative, both of whom gave unsparingly of their advice and time while this manuscript was in the making; also to Professor Roscoe C. Martin, formerly Director of this Bureau, who demonstrated an early interest in the subject and encouraged Mr. Cooper in this undertaking. For constant advice and financial support the Bureau of Municipal Research is greatly indebted to the Bureau of Research in the Social Sciences of The University of Texas, of which Professor W. E. Gettys is Director.

But for the support of this agency neither the preparation nor the publication of this study would have been possible.

Finally, special gratitude goes out to Mrs. Margaret Davis Webb, Secretary to the Director, for her untiring assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

STUART A. MACCORKLE,

Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research.

Austin, Texas.

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INTRODUCTION

The past two decades have witnessed revolutionary changes in American police service. Altered social patterns have exerted new and powerful pressures on the police. New means of transportation have radically changed our manner of living, and have caused the country to shrink measurably in size. The almost phenomenal growth in population, and particularly in urban population, has brought in its wake innumerable problems foreign to America when we were a rural nation. Government has increased in functions by leaps and bounds. Modern science has added to the complexity, din, and confusion, if also to the comfort and convenience, of our daily lives. As a by-product, it has generously supplied the police with mechanical gadgets of tremendous value. The radio, the police automobile, the crime laboratory with all its present performance and future promise, have made possible an undreamed-of quality of police service by way of meeting the increased stresses and strains of the last quarter-century.

Police efficiency, therefore, has been remarkably improved, for the reasons first that there has been an inescapable demand for improvement, and second that the means have been at hand for meeting the demand. But something more has happened in the realm of police work; for if the problems of living have increased unprecedentedly, the problems of police administration have grown no less rapidly. Each new major development, both within and without the police field, brought with it a host of perplexing problems. For the arrival of each meant change, and departure from past practices and procedures for something new.

When an individual experiences some sharp change, such as adolescence, or marriage, or loss of position or money, strong forces exert their pressure on his personality. He must adapt himself to his new situation. Changes must be made, changes in habits of living, in point of view. The whole personality of the individual is altered. His philosophy, his principles, and his very pattern of living are changed to meet the requirements of his new situation.

The American police find themselves at this moment in a new situation. Forces from without and pressures from within have

changed the whole pattern of police service. New concepts have evolved, concepts which affect the place of the police among the other services of the city, the relationships between the municipal police and the police agencies of other jurisdictions, the organization of the police department, the management of police personnel, the tactics through which the police seek their end of crime control—in sum, every aspect of police operations which enters into the modern problem of police administration.

Sometimes human beings are unsuccessful in meeting new situations. Failures result. Failures usually mean smashed personalities. They occur when the personality is not sufficiently strong to withstand the stresses and strains exerted by the new situation.

Will the American police be successful in solving the new problems which have been thrust upon them? It is now time to re-appraise accepted police organization and traditional practices and procedures in the light of the changes we see all about us. How has each police unit progressed in adapting itself to new conditions? Have the situations been too tough for some police departments? Are all of them making their adaptations in the same pattern? Are all of them making the best possible use of the new developments? The need for answers to these and other pertinent questions is apparent.

The study which has been undertaken by Mr. R. Weldon Cooper has produced the required answer. With keen insight and with a great deal of work he has arrived at findings and recommendations which to a police executive seem sound. He has demonstrated a thorough knowledge of the ramifications of the complex police situations, and has broken it down into its component parts so that what is in truth complex is made to seem simple.

This study doubtless can be justified from the point of view of the academician. With this side of it, however, the writer is not particularly concerned. Its principal value, it seems to him, lies in the fact that it will serve as a trustworthy guide to the practical police administrator. In it are offered sound solutions to many perplexing problems confronting the police executive. In it are suggested standards by which police officials may appraise their organizations, in order to determine with what success they have

adapted their patterns of organization and procedure to meet the problems of this modern world. A study of this volume will reveal to the police executive whether he is abreast of the changing times or bogged down in yesterday's traditions, whether he is a leader, meeting new problems as they come up, or a follower, lagging behind in this modern day of rapid police progress.

O. W. WILSON.

Wichita, Kansas, September 8, 1938.

PART ONE
SETTING AND STRUCTURE

CHAPTER I

THE POLICE PROBLEM

The office of police as it exists today was not known to the common law, but was created by statute and has been granted only such powers and duties as are specified.¹ The origin of the modern police organization in the United States may be found in the colonial period when the colonists adapted for their uses the methods which were in favor at that time in England.² In addition to the parish constable appointed by the local governmental unit, the New England towns at an early date established a system of nightwatch which until the middle of the nineteenth century formed a distinct branch of municipal administration. With the growth of cities in the nineteenth century the inadequacy of the nightwatch as then organized became increasingly apparent, and investigations in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and elsewhere revealed the inability of this system to cope with local crime.

As a supplement to the nightwatch, several cities, beginning with Boston in 1838, established an independent day police force. With the spread of this idea to other cities, certain organizational deficiencies became apparent: increased friction resulted from the presence of two independent police forces, and moreover the two units remained unable to meet the demands which had led to the creation of a day police force. In the midst of an increasingly complex social structure occasioned by the rapid urbanization of the New England and Middle Atlantic sections, this primitive police organization collapsed, and in time was supplanted by a unified system in which were joined the day force and nightwatch. The consolidated police agency, first provided in New York City in 1844, discarded the watch system and established a police force of 800 men under the immediate supervision of a chief of police appointed by the mayor with the consent of the council. It "forms

¹*Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Police Department of the City of Boston* (1927), 9.

²Raymond B. Fosdick, *American Police Systems* (New York, 1920), 58-65.

the basis of modern police organization in America."³ From the example set by New York other large cities effected a similar amalgamation, and by 1860 the general pattern of a unified police organization began to prevail.

While the basic form of American municipal police organization was being fashioned by trial and error in the older sections of the United States, the matter of municipal police protection was of little importance in Texas, since the largest city in 1850 had a population of only 4,177. During the early period of statehood rudimentary duties were performed by the county sheriff, an office provided in the Constitution of the Republic in 1836 and continued in the State Constitution of 1845.⁴ The cities did not take advantage of the authority granted by legislative charters to establish their own police departments and it was not until the post-war period that separate municipal police agencies began to emerge. One of the exceptions to this rule was San Antonio, which in 1852 created the office of city marshal at a salary of \$50 per month to watch over a total population of 3,500. Laredo in 1880, El Paso in 1883, and Beaumont in 1894 made definite appointments to paid police positions provided by ordinance.

The late development of paid municipal police forces in Texas was due to the small size of cities and the relative lack of any serious and pressing need for police protection outside of that furnished by the county sheriff. In 1890 the largest city in Texas had a population of only 38,067, which by 1900 had increased to no more than 53,321. In 1900 there were only three cities above 40,000 population, and most of the smaller municipalities simply failed to assume any direct responsibility for law enforcement, the sheriff and constable continuing as the principal local police officers. Moreover, such departments as were created were hardly worthy of the name.

³*Ibid.*, 66. As early as 1834, Cincinnati provided by ordinance for a tax levy to finance its police program which consisted of a nightwatch of twenty men. It is claimed that this police force was "the first of its kind to be established anywhere." Cincinnati Department of Safety, Division of Police, *Annual Report, 1936* (1937), 1.

⁴V. O. Key, Jr., *History of County Government in Texas* (M. A. Thesis, The University of Texas, 1930), 34.

The tardy development of municipal police forces has affected markedly the type of police organization which has been uniformly adopted in Texas cities. Following the creation of unified police departments in the larger cities of the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century, dissatisfaction arose over the chaos created by partisan practices in police administration. Efforts to introduce a more orderly police system led to the adoption of various extraordinary types of control, chief among which were the independent police commission and the state supervisory authority.⁵ By 1900 this movement had spent itself, and since that time the trend has been in the direction of increased local control over the municipal police. In view of this experience Texas cities have uniformly placed the police within the framework of the municipal administration, with the result that the police remain directly responsive to the mayor, manager, or commissioner.

In common with the prevailing American practice the source of police authority in Texas is the state. The state in turn has delegated the authority to exercise the police function, within prescribed limits, to the cities. By statutory prescription general law cities in Texas are given the power to "create, establish, and regulate the police of the city; to appoint watchmen and policemen, and to prescribe their duties and powers and compensation."⁶ Home rule cities are empowered "to provide for police . . . departments."⁷

By statutory definition, municipal police officials possess a dual character as regards the laws which they are required to enforce. The term "peace officers" is defined by law to include "the marshal

⁵Fosdick, *op. cit.*, 77-107.

⁶*Vernon's Annotated Revised Civil Statutes of the State of Texas* (1937 Supplement), Art. 1015, Sec. 18; hereafter cited as *Revised Civil Statutes*.

By constitutional provision Texas cities are divided into two classes for purposes of incorporation. Those having a population of 5,000 or less may be chartered by general law only, while those above 5,000 may adopt or amend their charters without legislative sanction, provided there is no conflict with the State Constitution or statutes. Popular terminology denotes these as "general law" and "home rule" cities. *The Constitution of the State of Texas*, Art. XI, Sec. 4; cited hereafter as *Constitution*.

⁷*Revised Civil Statutes*, Art. 1175, Sec. 27.

or policeman of an incorporated city or town,"⁸ whose duty it is "to preserve the peace within his jurisdiction."⁹ Thus the municipal police officer is placed on the same plane as the state police, sheriff, and constable so far as state and federal laws are concerned and is therefore assigned the broad duty of keeping the peace within the limits of his territorial jurisdiction.

In addition the municipal police are charged with the duty of enforcing city ordinances. The police officer of the general law city, known as the city marshal, is directed to arrest all violators "charged with an offense against the ordinances or laws of the city."¹⁰ Municipal policemen in home rule cities obtain this authority from the city charters; in San Antonio, for example, the police are empowered "to enforce the observation of all ordinances, rules and police regulations" of the city.¹¹ By virtue of these requirements the authority of the municipal police officer is extended to include the various regulatory acts of the city, and his jurisdiction thus is much broader than that assigned to county and state police officers. The municipal police executive is faced with a multiplicity of statutes, both state and municipal, which become more bewildering in their number and complexity as the size of the city increases.

The authority to organize municipal police departments is found in different sources for general law and home rule cities. In general law cities the office of city marshal is created by statute, and cities are granted the additional power to provide by ordinance for the appointment, qualifications, and term of office of such other police officers as may be deemed necessary. By virtue of this provision the general law cities must pass an ordinance in order either to provide additional police officers or to make any changes in qualifications and compensation. Home rule cities, on the other hand, are organized as provided in the city charter. Generally these charters contain a provision creating the office of chief of

⁸*Vernon's Annotated Code of Criminal Procedure of the State of Texas* (1937 Supplement), Art. 36; cited hereafter as *Code of Criminal Procedure*. The status of the municipal policeman as a peace officer is discussed and confirmed in *Ex parte Preston*, 161 S.W. 115 (1913).

⁹*Code of Criminal Procedure*, Art. 37.

¹⁰*Revised Civil Statutes*, Art. 999.

¹¹*Charter of the City of San Antonio* (1931), Sec. 100.

police and empowering the council to create such additional offices as it may deem necessary, or provide that the city may create by ordinance a police department containing such offices as are required. Customary practice in the past in home rule cities has been to provide for the number of police officers by resolution or appropriation ordinance, which has been deemed sufficient to satisfy the provisions of the charter.

A recent judicial decision has raised serious doubts as to the legal basis of police departments in home rule cities in Texas.¹² In this case the court stated that the "creation of a municipal office is essentially a legislative matter. It is practically unanimously recognized that in the absence of some special provision or legislative enactment municipal officers can be created only by ordinance, and not by resolution or mere appointment." On this basis it seems that although a city charter may be self-executing in so far as the establishment of the office of chief of police is concerned, it is not self-executing with respect to the creation of additional police officers except as they may be enumerated in the charter. A charter provision requiring the passage of an ordinance for the establishment of a police force is not satisfied by appointment, even though the appointment may be ratified or approved by the city council. In short, it appears that a municipal police department in Texas can be legally constituted only if the ordinance providing for its creation sets forth every position to be filled by appointment. On the basis of this decision very few municipal police departments in Texas were validly created, and it has become necessary for each city to pass a specific ordinance giving the total number of positions to be filled if it desires to establish its police system on a sound legal foundation.

The administration of the municipal program of crime control is affected by a number of factors. One of the most significant of these is the diffusion of police authority among several agencies. In addition to the city, police authority in Texas is exercised by the constables and sheriff of the county, the state police,¹³ and the

¹²*Holcombe v. Grotz*, 102 S.W. (2d) 1041 (1937).

¹³The state police force has the official title of State Department of Public Safety and includes the Highway Patrol and Texas Rangers. The more widely known term, "state police," is employed here.

federal police. Ordinarily the various federal police agencies are concerned with the enforcement of national laws and come into contact with municipal police officers only intermittently. There are many federal offenses, however, which are also state offenses, and these provide a possible source of conflict. A closer relationship exists between the state and municipal police. The primary duties of the state police are the regulation of traffic on state highways, the supplying of detective assistance to county and municipal police officers, and the development of improved facilities for criminal investigation and identification. While the state police are primarily concerned with supplementing the primitive police forces normally found in rural and semirural areas, they find themselves on occasion in direct conflict with municipal officers; for local preference as to the enforcement of a particular law may differ markedly from the attitude held by state police officials. Most closely associated with the municipal police are the sheriff and constable, whose territorial jurisdiction covers the cities, and who therefore share responsibility with the city police for the repression, detection, and apprehension of offenses against state law. Many opportunities exist for misunderstandings and disputes among these local police agencies.

SCOPE AND CHARACTER OF THE MUNICIPAL CRIME LOAD

Sociological Diversity

A number of factors affect directly the police problem. So long as the state was largely rural in character the matter of crime prevention and control was one of local concern and did not materially affect other areas. The tendency in Texas, however, as elsewhere, has been in the direction of an increased urban concentration of population. As late as 1900 only 17.1 per cent of the population was termed urban; steady increments in this percentage, however, led to an increase to 41 in 1930, and the trend is still upward, though perhaps at a decreasing rate. Moreover, the problem has been complicated by the appearance of large cities. Cities over 100,000 population, to the number of four, made their first appearance in the Census of 1920; the number increased by one in the Census of 1930. In addition, nine cities are found in the 40,000 to 100,000 population group and twenty-nine in the 10,000 to 40,000

group. Thus there are at least forty-three cities large enough to manifest some of the aspects of urbanism.

The police problem is further affected by the racial characteristics of the population. According to the 1936 estimates of the Bureau of the Census the population of Texas was 6,117,000, of which Negroes formed 15 per cent and Mexicans 9.4 per cent. The presence of a large number of Negroes affects directly the amount of police activity, for regardless of the reasons it has been definitely established that Negroes are arrested in far greater numbers relatively than whites.¹⁴ Data on the extent of crime among Mexicans are not available, but the presence of considerable numbers of this race in the cities of the southern and southwestern parts of the state indicates something of the problem involved in policing areas with strong racial minorities, which, in some instances, become municipal majorities.¹⁵ Additional complications arise from the fact that these racial minorities are not static in either character or numbers, the Mexicans in particular varying greatly from year to year because of the proximity of their native land and the ease with which they may cross the Rio Grande River.¹⁶

Another factor which further complicates the police problem is the age distribution of the population. Criminal statistics for recent years show a preponderance of criminal offenders in the lower age groups. Considering the population of the United States in 1930 of the age of fifteen years and above as a unit, 37.2 per cent of the total is found between the ages of fifteen and twenty-nine inclusive. According to the records compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation from fingerprint exchanges, 52 per cent of all persons arrested and fingerprinted during the first three months

¹⁴According to the arrest records for 1937 compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation from its fingerprint exchanges, of each 100,000 Negroes 15 years of age and over in the United States (Census of 1930), 1,412 were arrested and fingerprinted. The corresponding figure for native whites was 517 and for foreign-born whites 212. Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports*, VIII (January, 1938), 234.

¹⁵The percentage of the total population in four of the largest cities of this area in 1930 composed of "other races" (almost wholly Mexican) was Brownsville 38.2, Laredo 72.1, El Paso 57.2, and San Antonio 35.7.

¹⁶See the *Texas Almanac*, 1936 (Dallas, 1936), 133.

of 1937 were within the same age range.¹⁷ Confining the age range to the narrower limits of fifteen to twenty-four, 25.9 per cent of the 1930 population is found in comparison with 34.8 per cent of those arrested and fingerprinted. It is evident, therefore, that the amount of crime prevalent in a particular community is dependent somewhat upon the age ranges found, and that offenders are concentrated among the more youthful groups.

In addition to the age factor, the scope and character of police activities are further influenced by social conditions within the municipality. Residential cities with a relatively stable, homogeneous population from the middle and upper income brackets will differ in their police needs from cities possessing a diverse population and intensive concentrations of wealth which form potential crime hazards. To instance, the satellite cities of Highland Park and University Park in the Dallas metropolitan area have a comparatively simple crime problem because of their residential character. On the other hand, the City of Dallas by virtue of its size and diversified economic base must shape its program of crime control along entirely different lines. Again, variations in police business are influenced by the presence or absence of transportation facilities and radial highways which may result in the presence of a large transient population. The presence of large military establishments in several cities in Texas, which introduce an abnormally large male population into the area, is also a conditioning factor. Finally, the general economic status of the population as measured by the absence or existence of poverty affects crime conditions, although the extent of this influence has not as yet been definitely determined.¹⁸

Geographical Variation

A further factor which affects the police problem in Texas is the size of the state and its geographical diversity. With one exception the major cities of the state are widely separated, and despite halting efforts toward coöperation, their present status is not far from that of complete independence. No common crime denominator exists among such widely separated cities as Beaumont,

¹⁷Federal Bureau of Investigation, *op. cit.*, VIII (April, 1937), 41.

¹⁸E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (Chicago, 1934), 157-63.

Amarillo, El Paso, and Brownsville. Local variations in each of these cities make necessary a different approach to a program of crime control. Intercommunication among police departments, transfers of information, and conferences of police officials are hampered by distance. In addition there is the international boundary consisting of approximately 900 miles of the Rio Grande River separating Mexico and the United States. While the policing of the international boundary is primarily the responsibility of the Federal Government, nevertheless the municipal police in this area are burdened with types of cases not found in other cities.

The Chronology of Crime

Essential to an understanding of the setting of the police problem is the chronology of crime within the confines of the community, for the incidence of criminal offenses shows a definite relationship to the time of occurrence. Over a yearly period it appears that robberies, burglaries, and negligent manslaughter on the whole are committed in greater numbers in the winter and decline to a lower level in the summer. On the other hand, a reverse trend may be noted in the instance of aggravated assault. Offenses involving murder appear to follow no definite trend.¹⁹ As crime varies throughout the year, so the number of calls for police service differs from day to day within a weekly period. Ordinarily the police load as represented by the calls dispatched by police radio reaches a peak during Saturday and Sunday of each week. After the Sunday peak the load falls sharply, rises again slightly during the middle of the week, and then after another decline climbs to its highest level on Saturday.²⁰

Variations in the seasonal and daily incidence of crime are also accompanied by similar differences during a twenty-four-hour period. The volume of complaints requiring the attention of the police is at a minimum in the early morning hours, gradually

¹⁹Federal Bureau of Investigation, *op. cit.*, VIII (January, 1938), 189.

²⁰These calculations are based on direct examinations of police radio logs in several Texas cities. The trend appears to be nation-wide. See Edwin Lee White and E. C. Denstaedt, "Police Radio Communication," *Electrical Engineering*, LVI (May, 1937), 539; and Los Angeles Police Department, *Annual Report, 1936-37* (1937), 50.

TABLE I
NUMBER OF OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE PER 100,000 POPULATION FOR CERTAIN OFFENSES IN TEXAS AND IN THE UNITED STATES, 1933-1937*

Year	Murder, Non-negligent Manlaughter		Robbery		Burglary		Theft		Auto Theft	
	Texas	United States	Texas	United States	Texas	United States	Texas	United States	Texas	United States
1933	18.2	7.1	87.9	102.5	616.6	379.2	1,418.4	762.0	516.3	320.4
1934	20.6	6.7	82.8	81.6	568.3	334.8	1,515.6	771.0	528.9	287.3
1935	14.3	6.0	72.7	66.4	523.1	310.0	1,495.5	747.0	403.5	241.8
1936	19.8	6.2	65.4	55.7	506.7	311.5	1,484.8	716.7	280.0	213.7
1937	17.9	6.1	63.9	59.8	531.8	325.4	1,514.1	780.0	245.3	215.6

*Adapted from the *Uniform Crime Reports* of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the years 1933-1938. During this period the number of cities making reports increased from 1,264, with a total population of 49,470,686, to 1,809, with a population of 61,551,252. In the same period the number of Texas cities making reports from 28 to 43.

increasing from 8 o'clock until the mid-morning peak at about 10:30. At that time a decline sets in until 2 P.M., after which a steady rise in the total activities requiring police attention is noted until the peak for the twenty-four-hour period is reached at about 9 P.M. From that time a decline sets in until 2 A.M., after which police activities are normally at a minimum until around 7 A.M.

From these various conditioning factors it is apparent that the police problem is by no means capable of simple definition, and that it involves the consideration of a number of variants. Sociological, geographical, and chronological factors affect directly the volume of activities requiring the attention of the police and must be considered in the administration of any organization designed to meet municipal police needs.

The Extent of Crime

In final analysis, the nature of the police problem of course depends in good part on the number and kind of offenses requiring police action. How many criminal offenses are committed within the municipal limits each year which require the expenditure of police effort? Until recent times there was little evidence on which an answer to this question could be based.²¹ Local departments in Texas and elsewhere endeavored sporadically to compile criminal statistics, but the lack of uniformity and the shifts of administrative practices within the department made them of little use in charting national or state trends except in a few states which required central reporting. This deficiency has been overcome in part by the efforts of the International Association of Chiefs of Police to establish a uniform crime reporting system. Monthly and annual reports of certain major offenses known to the police are compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and published quarterly as *Uniform Crime Reports*. Although caution must be exercised in the use of these data, they form the only basis for comparisons between offenses in Texas and those throughout the nation.²²

²¹Committee on Uniform Crime Records, International Association of Chiefs of Police, *Uniform Crime Reporting* (New York, 1929), 1-2.

²²The Federal Bureau of Investigation recommends that comparisons between individual cities "be made with a great deal of caution, because differences in the figures may be due to a great variety of factors. The amount

With these reservations in mind some knowledge may be gained of the amount of crime in Texas as compared with the United States by a study of Table I, which gives the number of offenses known to the police per 100,000 population for Texas and the United States for a five-year period. As will be observed, the crime rate in Texas cities reporting is considerably higher in every instance than the national rate. Particularly is this noticeable for murder and non-negligent manslaughter. Only in the case of robbery and auto theft does Texas compare at all favorably with the United States, and even here the Texas index is considerably higher. A comparison of the number of offenses per 100,000 population for these same offenses is given in Table II for the various geographical areas in the United States. In common with the other southern states, Texas appears to have a considerably higher rate with regard to the five offenses, except for auto theft, than is found in other sections of the United States. The Texas rates are considerably higher than those for the West South Central area in which Texas is located. The Texas rates are higher than those found in any other area in the nation for burglary and theft and are second highest for murder and non-negligent manslaughter.

Further light is thrown on the police problem by noting the number of persons convicted of federal offenses in Texas as compared with the United States. The location of Texas on an international boundary has served to increase the number of federal offenders from Texas to a higher point than might be expected from its population. In the federal fiscal year of 1935-36, federal institutions and jails received a total of 23,335 federal offenders, of

of crime committed in a community is not chargeable to the police but is rather a charge against the entire community. The following is a list of some of the factors which might affect the amount of crime in a community: The composition of the population with reference particularly to age, sex, and race; the economic status and activities of the population; climate; educational, recreational, and religious facilities; the number of police employees per unit of population; the standards governing appointments to the police force; the policies of the prosecuting officials and the courts; the attitude of the public toward law enforcement problems." Federal Bureau of Investigation, *op. cit.*, IX (April, 1938), 7. The deficiencies of a crime index based on the number of offenses known to the police are noted in S. B. Warner, *Crime and Criminal Statistics in Boston* (Boston, 1934), 56-74.

which 12.4 per cent came from Texas.²³ There were 18.2 federal offenders per 100,000 population in the country as a whole and 47.3 in Texas. Convictions for violation of the federal immigration act showed that the number of federal offenders per 100,000 population amounted to 2 in the United States and 20 in Texas; similar figures for violation of the federal narcotics act were 1.6 for the United States and 4.1 for Texas.

TABLE II

NUMBER OF OFFENSES KNOWN TO THE POLICE PER 100,000 POPULATION IN CERTAIN GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS AND IN TEXAS, 1937*

Area	Murder, Non-Negligent Manslaughter	Robbery	Burglary	Theft	Auto Theft
National Average† _____	6.1	59.8	325.4	780.0	215.6
Geographical Area:					
New England _____	1.3	19.4	252.6	485.9	185.5
Middle Atlantic _____	3.8	30.9	181.6	354.9	156.1
East North Central _____	4.6	88.3	306.4	779.6	175.8
West North Central _____	4.4	49.4	264.8	808.9	184.4
South Atlantic _____	17.7	105.6	512.7	1,199.0	278.2
East South Central _____	22.7	87.3	468.7	822.1	234.2
West South Central _____	15.2	59.8	433.6	1,222.9	186.1
Mountain _____	4.7	64.9	432.0	1,150.5	302.4
Pacific _____	4.2	75.3	511.5	1,223.0	454.6
Texas‡ _____	17.9	63.9	531.8	1,514.4	245.3

*Adapted from Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports*, VIII (January, 1938), 187, 194.

†Based on returns from 1,809 cities with a total population of 61,551,252.

‡Based on returns from forty-three cities, thirteen of which are above 25,000 population.

Efforts to calculate the annual cost of crime in the United States in terms of actual losses through criminal actions result in varying figures and no satisfactory calculations have been made.²⁴ Part of the cost of crime may be measured by the losses occurring from bank burglaries and holdups. As shown in Table III, the number of offenses against banks has declined steadily in the United States since 1932. Formerly constituting one of the most important causes

²³These computations are based on the report of the United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Prisons, *Federal Offenders, 1935-36* (Washington, 1937), 214-16, 234-35.

²⁴E. R. Hawkins and Willard Waller, "Critical Notes on the Cost of Crime," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXVI (January-February, 1936), 679-94.

of losses, offenses against banks in Texas now approach the vanishing point. In using this decrease as evidence of increased police efficiency it must be remembered that offenses against national banks and those carrying insurance in the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation are now subject to federal jurisdiction, and that a unified state police with an enlarged personnel was established in Texas in 1935. Indices of this type are most useful in discovering trends and must be employed with caution as a measure of police effectiveness.

TABLE III

CRIMINAL OFFENSES AGAINST BANKS IN TEXAS AND IN THE UNITED STATES,
1932-1937*

Year†	Number		Loss		Number		Loss	
	Texas	United States	Texas	United States	Texas	United States	Texas	United States
1932	47	631	\$149,507	\$3,562,371	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1933	47	611	80,712	2,502,277	100.0	96.8	54.0	70.2
1934	36	407	113,135	1,992,766	76.6	64.5	75.7	55.9
1935	18	311	21,049	1,414,783	38.3	49.3	14.1	39.7
1936	8	189	8,086	711,361	17.0	30.0	5.4	20.0
1937	4	145	9,660	544,697	8.5	23.0	6.5	15.3

*Offenses include burglaries and kidnaps. The loss figures represent the amounts originally reported and no allowance is made for salvage recoveries. This information was supplied by the Protective Department of the American Bankers' Association.

†The year in each instance is for the period ending August 31.

Not only are the police concerned with such serious offenses as those mentioned above, but in addition they have been charged with numerous duties of a regulatory character. With the growing complexity of municipal administration and the assumption by the city of new regulatory responsibilities, the police have found their functions considerably enlarged. The growth of the traffic problem illustrates this tendency. Formerly traffic regulation constituted one of the duties of the patrol division, but the rapid growth of motor registrations has necessitated the creation of traffic divisions which tend to rival the older divisions in size. As a natural if not logical result, the number of police officers available for ordinary patrol duty has diminished, and relatively less and less attention is devoted to the primary duty of crime repression which continues

to form one of the basic reasons for the existence of a police department. Responsibility for this situation may be assigned to the prevailing attitude which regards the police department as a "municipal wastebasket" to be charged with the performance of all activities not immediately related to the work of another department.²⁵

In view of the complexity of the police problem and especially in view of the difficulty of appraising accurately the extent and cost of crime, it is not surprising that many criticisms of police administration are erroneous or at best superficial generalizations. If the single factor of the number of offenses known to the police is taken as an approximation of the scope of police activity, it is evident that present-day research has only begun to isolate the influences which affect the incidence of crime. Yet these offenses constitute only a portion of the cases which require some sort of formal police action—in many instances minor offenses are settled by the police without resort to court action. Data as to the frequency and variety of many police activities are not readily available, for as yet few police record systems are able to produce statistics of this type. Without them, however, knowledge of the extent of the police problem is incomplete.

Unfortunately, criminal statistics where available have been employed by many as an index of police effectiveness. The practice of charging the police with complete responsibility for the crime load has been abandoned in other countries as it has been increasingly realized that many factors enter into the making of the criminal. An analysis of the offenses in a particular city will show many which would not have been prevented if the police personnel had been doubled or tripled. Public health agencies are not charged with responsibility for an outbreak of a virulent disease. Morbidity and mortality statistics are employed for preventive purposes. The same method is applicable in attempting to delimit the police problem. Criminal statistics are useful to the police, among others, as data on the basis of which police activities may be more scientifically directed. Assessment of the effectiveness of police activities must be made through the use of other devices.

²⁵See August Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society* (Berkeley, 1936), Chaps. III and IV.

CHAPTER II

POPULATION, WEALTH, AND POLICE SERVICE

The procedure by means of which a city comes into legal existence in Texas is not subject to control by any administrative agency of the state. The statutes prescribe certain legal formalities which must be followed, and any community may by their observance assume the status of a municipal corporation. Once having entered this realm, a city may establish a police department and accord to it such support as its financial resources will permit. The character of police service is a function of size, wealth, and certain other factors which restrict the amount of money the municipality is able to appropriate. Of vital importance in obtaining a realistic view of the police problem in Texas is the actual character of police service now being rendered in the smaller cities. The widespread practice of lumping all cities together and using the total as a basis for treatment of the police problem has served to obscure the differentials arising from variations in size and wealth. Legally cities are similar, regardless of size, but in the matter of police service the differences among them are very great.

So far as could be determined, there were 595 incorporated cities in Texas in 1937, with a combined population of 3,170,776, or 51.8 per cent of the state's total. At first glance this number appears impressive, but an examination of their size reveals that many cities are quite small. Of the total of 595, only 43 cities, or 7.2 per cent, are over 10,000 population. These 43 cities contain two-thirds of the total municipal (incorporated) population of the state; the remaining one-third is divided among 552 cities. The 43 cities over 10,000 population contain 34.6 per cent of the total population of the state. A tendency toward concentration is further evidenced by the presence of approximately one-fifth of the state's population within the five counties which contain the cities over 100,000 population.¹

The limited size of most Texas cities raises important questions as to the status of police service in these areas. As this study

¹See Roscoe C. Martin, *Urban Local Government in Texas* (Austin, 1936), 18.

proceeds note will be made of the limited police protection afforded by the smaller police departments, but at this point brief consideration may be given to their financial ability to support an acceptable standard of police protection. It is proper to ask, concerning these smaller cities, whether they may not be attempting the impossible in trying to support a police program along the lines laid down in the larger cities. If it is discovered that they are not financially able to support an adequate police structure, it seems fruitless to apply the standards of the major cities to them. Whatever may be the solution of the problem of crime control in the smaller cities, it may develop that funds for its financing must derive from some source other than the municipality.

Available Police Facilities

One index of the character of police service in the smaller cities of Texas may be obtained from a study of the available police personnel (Table IV).² The size of the police force decreases, as one

TABLE IV

AVERAGE POLICE PERSONNEL AND AVERAGE AREAS, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Groups	Total Number of Cities Reporting	Average Police Personnel	Average Area in Square Miles	Cities Reporting No Police Officer*
100,000 and over.....	5	236.6	49.4	—
40,000-100,000	9	47.6	13.6	—
10,000-40,000	23	11.5	6.6	—
3,500-10,000	42	3.9	3.1	4
1,000-3,500	124	1.8	1.9	39
Below 1,000	83	1.2	1.8	94

*Based on replies received by the League of Texas Municipalities in its compilation of a directory of Texas city officials.

goes down the population ladder, at a much more rapid rate than the area of the city. Additional police services in the large cities lead to specialization with a resulting non-linear increase in police personnel in relation to population. In the instance of the cities below 10,000 population, however, a question arises as to the nature of the police protection furnished, in view of the limited personnel.

²The methods followed in gathering the data relating to Texas police departments are given in the Appendix.

As shown in Table IV, many of the cities in this group have failed to provide even one officer and depend on county and state aid for police protection. For various reasons to be noted later many of these small cities have police forces scarcely worthy of the name.

As this point the question naturally arises, What are the police needs of the cities below 10,000 population? It is clear that comparisons with the larger cities on the basis of population and area alone are not valid since there is not the need for patrol, criminal investigation, and traffic regulation services to the extent found there. Yet it is evident that these services in some degree are needed in this day of improved highways, which have made small municipalities vulnerable to criminal attack to an extent unknown in the past when each was in large part a self-contained community isolated from the rest of the state. Under present conditions these cities cannot be expected to provide such police essentials as communication, headquarters, and identification facilities which are a necessary adjunct in the conduct of police business. The smaller cities form a link in the chain of crime control within the state, and their police needs, however elementary they may be, must be considered if concerted police efforts on a state-wide scale are to be expected.

An analysis of the scope of police activities in the various population ranges indicates more clearly the limited character of police protection in the lower categories. Specialization within the police department is a common feature of the cities above 100,000 population. Separate divisions devoted to patrol, criminal investigation, traffic, and special functions are found, and in addition the auxiliary services of records and identification, personnel, communication, and equipment are present.³ The departments in cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population also exhibit some of the aspects of specialization, although to a much less extent than the largest cities. Particularly is the contraction of specialization to be noted in the case of such police necessities as records, communication, and the systematized recruiting and training of personnel. In the cities from 10,000 to 40,000 population special divisions devoted to criminal investigation and traffic regulation disappear, and little attention is accorded personnel and records. Twenty-three of the twenty-nine

³See Chap. IV.

cities in this group, however, maintain a regular patrol. Below 10,000 population specialization is completely absent, and only a few cities undertake to conduct a continuous patrol. A negligible number endeavor to maintain a traffic division, ordinarily consisting of one officer, and some identification facilities, but in the main the police in the cities below 10,000 population are almost wholly concerned with answering complaints and performing such activities as may be absolutely necessary. Limited personnel and a lack of facilities combine to prevent the rendering of any but the most fundamental police services, and these are not systematic and continuous.⁴

Financial Resources

In view of the limited police facilities of the smaller cities, the question arises whether they are financially able to provide a police force. The expenditures for police service in the larger cities constitute a considerable part of the total municipal budget. Excluding from the total municipal expenditures those assigned to debt retirement and capital outlay, it appears from Table V that Texas cities

TABLE V

ANNUAL POLICE EXPENDITURES, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937*

Population Groups	Total Number of Cities Reporting	Total Municipal Operating Expenditures	Police Operating Expenditures		Police Personnel Expenditures	
			Amount	Per Cent of City Total	Total	Per Cent of City Total
100,000 and over..	4	\$7,840,886	\$1,389,712	17.7	\$1,209,323	15.4
40,000-100,000 ..	9	4,334,977	654,143	15.1	567,118	13.1
10,000-40,000	7	925,124	162,532	17.6	135,465	14.6

*Based on reports from cities covering the last fiscal year ending prior to July 1, 1937.

over 10,000 population expend annually from 15 to 18 per cent of the total for police purposes. The lack of any financial data from the smaller cities prevents a similar computation of expenditures for these units, but in view of the limited number of municipal

⁴The inadequacy of police protection in the less urban areas is a problem common to all save a few of the highly urbanized states. For an account of the rural police problem in one state, see the *Report of the Commission on a State Police for Vermont* (1937), 18-31. For a general treatment, see Bruce Smith, *Rural Crime Control* (New York, 1933).

activities engaged in by a city of this group it does not appear unreasonable to suppose that they expend as much as 20 to 25 per cent of the total available general fund income for police purposes.

On the basis of the trends revealed in the larger cities, an effort has been made in Table VI to compare the actual expenditures for

TABLE VI

ESTIMATED POTENTIAL AND ACTUAL ANNUAL POLICE EXPENDITURES IN CERTAIN CITIES, 1937

Cities	Total Police Personnel	Population	Annual Police Expenditures		Actual Expenditure per Policeman
			Estimated Potential	Actual	
Below 1,000 Population:					
A.....	1	750	\$ 353	\$ 720	\$ 720
B.....	1	720	184		
C.....	1	713	151	144	144
D.....	1	801	457	1,080	1,080
1,000-3,500 Population:					
E.....	2	1,703	1,488	1,680	840
F.....	1	1,858	303	308	308
G.....	1	2,482	401	240	240
H.....	2	2,632	1,895	2,280	1,140
I.....	2	3,296	3,027	2,100	1,050
3,500-10,000 Population:					
J.....	3	3,983	6,730	3,280	1,093
K.....	4	4,257	2,099	4,320	1,080
L.....	5	5,974	5,099	5,412	1,082
M.....	6	5,986	6,467	9,000	1,500
N.....	5	6,532	7,482	7,560	1,512
O.....	6	6,748	7,619	6,343	1,057

police purposes by certain individual cities below 10,000 population with the estimated potential amounts which these cities might be expected to appropriate for police protection. The estimated annual potential amounts available for police purposes were calculated by taking the reported assessed property valuation of the city, advancing this valuation to its full value (100 per cent), applying to this full valuation the reported tax rate for general fund purposes, and assuming that 20 per cent of the general fund in the cities from 3,500 to 10,000 population and 25 per cent of the

general fund in the cities below 3,500 population could be apportioned for police purposes.⁵ The actual police expenditures were obtained from the cities listed.

The conclusions which may be reached from Table VI are (1) that the amounts presently being expended in the cities of these population groups are in most cases inadequate for police purposes and in some instances are too low to permit even a part-time employee; and (2) that continuous police service could not be provided even if the cities from 3,500 to 10,000 population were required to expend for police protection 20 per cent, and the cities below 3,500, 25 per cent of their total general fund income. For purposes of illustration the city which expends the largest sum for police purposes may be taken as an example. City M, with a total police personnel of six and a population of 5,986 spends \$9,000 for police protection, or an average of \$1,500 per policeman. Assuming that continuous service is attempted by this department and an eight-hour shift is used, there will be two men available for each tour of duty. If one officer remains at headquarters the other officer must perform patrol duty and all investigative activities requiring outside attention. It should be noted, however, that a portion of the \$9,000 must be allotted for equipment and that a city of this size will require at least the rudiments of a record system. Under these conditions the police funds available are barely sufficient, and while police service of a rudimentary character may be rendered, there is considerable doubt as to its adequacy. Actually the police expenditures and the number of officers of City M are among the highest in the group of forty-two cities from 3,500 to 10,000 population. In the cities below 3,500 population there can be little doubt that in most instances the police service rendered is almost wholly inadequate.

Police Needs

If these cities are typical of their population classes, the tentative conclusion may be reached that somewhere down the population

⁵It will be noted that the assumptions are made that the property will be assessed at 100 per cent of its value and that there will be no tax delinquencies. Actually there is ordinarily not a full assessment in these cities and delinquent taxes bulk rather large. The estimates in Table VI of the available financial resources of the city are, therefore, liberal.

and financial ladder the point is reached below which the city normally is not able to support a police department capable of rendering police services on any specialized basis. While the assignment of a definite number of policemen as an index of municipal ability to supply police service is to be employed with caution, it may be doubted whether a police personnel of less than six ordinarily will permit the needed specialization. But it will be asked, do the smaller cities below 3,500 population require the varied police activities found in the larger cities? While a definitive answer to this question cannot be given except after intensive study of each city, an examination of the type of police needs in the cities below 10,000 population, and in particular those below 3,500 population, leads to the conclusion that in many instances their police problems are more rural than urban in character. In other words, it is to be doubted seriously if the smaller cities, with their police systems modeled as they are after those of their more populous neighbors, have not erred in overlooking the possibility that the type of police service which they require is not unlike that accorded rural areas.

At some point the police needs of the smaller city, particularly those below 3,500 population, become one with those of the adjacent rural areas, and as the size of the city decreases the police problems of the two tend to become indistinguishable. What is required in this instance is the assurance that in case of some unusual crime, such as a murder or robbery, there will be available an agency which is equipped with adequate personnel and facilities to make an immediate investigation. These offenses are the exception in the smaller cities. The similar police needs of the smaller city and the surrounding rural areas lead to the conclusion that any effort to supply police service to the lesser cities must be either undertaken completely by another agency or financed in part from other sources. If these are the only alternatives, a question immediately arises as to the political unit which would be in the best position to supply the necessary direction and financial support.

State Assistance

While the most important police official within the immediate area of the smaller city is the county sheriff, it is not worth while to consider that functionary as the nucleus of a system of rural

crime control. The sheriff in Texas as elsewhere is primarily concerned with judicial duties, and matters relating to crime repression, criminal investigation, and traffic regulation ordinarily are accorded little attention except in a few of the more populous counties.⁶ In those counties in which the smaller cities are found, the sheriff's office possesses a limited personnel and in most instances the sheriff himself is an amateur in police work and therefore cannot be expected to provide the type of service which the smaller cities require.

When one turns to the state, however, a different situation is found. Since the days of the Republic the state has been directly concerned with local law enforcement through the activities of the Texas Rangers. Originating as a semimilitary police force in 1836, the Rangers were assigned the duty of enforcing state laws in the western portion of the state, which at that time was sparsely populated.⁷ The need for such an agency decreased with the disappearance of the frontier, but the Rangers continued as a state police agency, nominally under the direction of the Adjutant General but actually subject to the control of the Governor. Surviving periodical efforts at abolition or limitation of their powers, the Rangers since 1900 have been employed primarily as "trouble-shooters," particularly in oil boom towns and in the enforcement of vice laws which were being ignored by local county and municipal authorities. During the periods when these activities did not require attention, the Ranger force assisted in investigations of offenses in rural areas and acted as a semidetective agency working with or without the coöperation of local agencies. Despite the disappearance of the frontier, however, the Rangers continued to be recruited along traditional lines and no consistent efforts were made to adapt the state police organization to modern needs.

With the growing volume of highway traffic and the need for an agency to enforce the highway and traffic laws, the Legislature in 1927 created a separate agency within the Highway Department which later became the Highway Patrol. Through a continuous

⁶Wallace C. Murphy, *County Government and Administration in Texas* (Austin, 1933), 228-30.

⁷The activities of the Texas Rangers as a frontier police force have been recounted in Walter Prescott Webb, *The Texas Rangers* (Boston, 1935).

program of recruitment on a merit basis and periodical training courses the Patrol became an effective agency for the enforcement of highway laws. Unlike the Rangers, the Patrol did not suffer from frequent changes in its personnel and leadership. The Patrol soon came to outnumber the Rangers but the former was limited to offenses committed on state highways.

Agitation for the amalgamation of these two state police agencies finally bore fruit in 1935 when the Rangers and Highway Patrol were combined in a State Department of Public Safety. In addition to the Rangers and the Highway Patrol the Department now contains divisions charged with duties relating to criminal identification and records, criminal investigation, communication, education (police training), and drivers' license. The total personnel of the Department in 1938 was approximately 500, including 33 Rangers and 219 Highway Patrolmen. The Department has made its facilities available for the use of local officers and is subject to call by city and county authorities for assistance in the investigation of offenses, for laboratory analysis of evidence, or for other services of a police nature.

The creation of the Department of Public Safety was due in part to the general realization that the character of police protection accorded by the existing rural crime control agencies was inadequate and that a state police agency equipped with modern facilities for criminal investigation should be available for assistance. Despite the fact that no frontal assault was made on the offices of sheriff and constable, it is evident that the creation of the Department came in part as a recognition of the state-wide ramifications of the rural crime problem and the need for a police unit able to cope with its varied manifestations. The important point here is that the state police have become established as a regular part of the machinery of law enforcement, and that no direct break with the past occurred with the granting of increased authority to the state police.

Unlike the state police forces in other areas, particularly Pennsylvania,⁸ New York,⁹ and Michigan,¹⁰ neither the Rangers nor the Highway Patrol has adopted a systematic rural patrol as a regular

⁸Pennsylvania State Police, *Biennial Report, 1929-1930* (1931), 9-10.

⁹New York State Police, *Annual Report, 1937* (1938), 7-11.

¹⁰Michigan State Police, *Annual Report, 1936* (1937), 17.

part of its activities. The Highway Patrol possesses the same police authority as the Rangers and may act in any portion of the state, but its efforts are primarily devoted to the enforcement of highway laws and the promotion of safety programs. The small number of Rangers makes impossible any intensive patrol of rural areas and consequently their activities are presently directed toward the investigation of more serious thefts in the western portion of the state and the patrolling of the international boundary. Occasionally they serve in an investigative capacity in other portions of the state, but the scope of their activity is generally limited to these two duties. A continuous service to rural areas is not provided under existing conditions.

Federal and State Participation

The problems attaching to rural crime control are not peculiar to Texas but have excited increased interest in recent years as one phase of the general inquiry into the form and structure of local government and the question of state-local relations. Numerous diagnoses of the ills of local government, directed particularly at the county, have eventuated in plans which do not always take into account the political realities of the local situation.¹¹ At various times and places particular individuals have called upon the federal, state, and county governments for leadership in the reformation of local government. In view of the tentative conclusion that the police problem of the small municipality is more rural than urban in character, it is in order to review some of the more recent suggestions.

The rapid expansion of the activities of the Federal Government in recent years has subjected it to numerous calls for assistance and it is not surprising that it has been looked to for assistance in broadening the financial bases of state and local governments to permit a more extensive police program. The nature of the proposals along this line is illustrated by a recent suggestion that the Federal Government assume responsibility for the payment of 50 per cent of the police costs in cities above 10,000 population and

¹¹For a timely discussion of the personnel, tactics, and strategy of reform as applied to local rural government, see Lane W. Lancaster, *Government in Rural America* (New York, 1937), 401-06.

assist also in the support of state police systems.¹² Maximum grants of 25 cents per capita for the state police and \$2 per capita for municipal police are suggested. In return for these grants-in-aid the state and municipal police systems would be required to meet certain standards, relating for example to personnel, records, reports, and equipment, to be established by the National Government, which would also approve the appointment of the chief of police. While it is suggested that the Federal Government would be interested only in the enforcement of minimum standards, it is probable that this proposal, if carried out, would result in the transfer of a substantial portion of the police power from the state to the National Government. Whatever might be the advantage of such liberal financial support, there is no assurance that local crime control could be effectively directed from the national capital. Even with the extensive expansion of federal police agencies in recent years, the crime problem remains to a considerable degree a local matter, and under ordinary conditions has no direct relation with interstate activities.¹³

¹²This proposal by Eugene E. Smith is summarized in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXV (November-December, 1934), 686. See also Paul H. Sanders, "Federal Aid for State Law Enforcement," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, I (1934), 472-82.

¹³Arthur C. Millspaugh, *Crime Control by the National Government* (Washington, 1937), 283-87.

Many proposals for grants-in-aid to local governments are modeled after the English practice, which provides for the payment out of national funds of not more than one-half of the expenses actually incurred by the local authority for police purposes. It should be pointed out, however, that the total number of police forces in England and Wales is 181, of which only 13 have an authorized personnel strength below 25. Moreover, the federal-state feature is absent. See C. C. H. Moriarty, *Police Procedure and Administration* (London, 1933), 13, 165, 245-47.

In 1932 the British House of Commons appointed a committee "to consider and report upon the question of the amalgamation of small police forces in England and Wales with larger units of police administration." The committee recommended that the police authorities of the county boroughs (cities with county powers) be retained irrespective of population with a provision permitting amalgamation of county and county borough police forces by voluntary agreement, that the population minimum for the establishment of police forces by non-county boroughs (ordinary cities) be raised

More in accord with present-day trends are the schemes suggested for centralizing responsibility for local crime control in the state police. Various proposals have been made along these lines. From the ranks of the state police, for example, come these suggestions:

1. Appointment and removal of all police chiefs by state authority, rather than local, with provisions for a permanent tenure of office during good behavior.

2. A unified command, which would direct all police activity of the state, to the extent that effective and reliable police coördination would be consistently maintained at all times.

3. The establishment of state police forces accompanied by the transfer to them of police duties now performed by county sheriffs, which would include a detective bureau, whose highly trained investigators would be available to all municipalities upon their call, or at the discretion of the state, as well as a central identification and criminal record bureau, and the development of a proper communication system among all police departments of the state.

4. The training of all police officers in schools organized by the state, or in local departments having training schools which comply with the standard requirements formulated by the state, with provision that no officer could be employed as such anywhere in the state who has not received such training.¹⁴

Under this plan the local police departments would not be abolished but would be placed under state supervision and control, with the state police acting as the coördinating agency. While this proposal would simplify the present police structure, the wholesale destruction of county agencies and the subordination of the municipal police in the larger cities could not be effected under present conditions. And it is probable that the activities of the state police would be excessively expanded with the addition of the duties attached to policing in the larger cities.

Canadian Practice

Instructive at this point, perhaps, is the experience of Canada in providing rural policing, since that Dominion has large rural areas for which at least the rudiments of police service must be provided.

from 10,000 to 30,000, and that the police forces of all existing non-county boroughs below that population level be merged with those of the county. *Report from the Select Committee on Police Forces (Amalgamation)* (1932), xv-xviii.

¹⁴Donald Leonard, "State Police," *Proceedings of the Attorney-General's Conference on Crime* (Washington, 1934), 400.

Formerly each province of the Dominion maintained its own provincial police, but in recent years six of the nine provinces have entered into contracts with the Dominion (federal) government calling for the transfer of the personnel of the provincial police to the ranks of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.¹⁵ The Mounted Police thereby incur responsibility for the enforcement of provincial laws in the areas of the six provinces which lie outside incorporated cities and towns. In return the province contributes to the maintenance of the Mounted Police at the rate of \$1,000 per year for each officer assigned to duty within the province under the terms of the contract.¹⁶

In those provinces which have continued to maintain police forces, the tendency in recent years has been for the smaller cities to contract directly with the provincial authority for police service. Since authorization by the provincial legislature in 1924, the British Columbia Provincial Police by 1937 had entered into agreements with thirty-eight municipalities.¹⁷ The sums paid by the city are made available for the use of the provincial police. The municipalities which have taken advantage of this offer have populations which, with four exceptions, do not exceed 5,000. Thus the policing of these small cities has not changed the character of the provincial police, which continues to be primarily concerned with the rural areas.

State Reassumption of the Police Function

In view of the recent expansion of state police forces in Texas and elsewhere and of the police protection which they accord in varying degrees to rural and semirural areas, there is evidenced an intention on the part of the state to resume active control of the responsibility for law enforcement, which previously had been assigned almost wholly to local police agencies.¹⁸ This trend is not peculiar to the police function alone; instead it parallels the tendency in recent years for the state to relieve the local unit partially

¹⁵*Report of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 1936-37* (1937), 5-6.
¹⁶*Ibid.*, 169-85.

¹⁷*Report of the Commissioner of Provincial Police of British Columbia, 1936* (1937), 10-11.

¹⁸See Smith, *op. cit.*, 280-84; and Arthur C. Millspaugh, *Local Democracy and Crime Control* (Washington, 1936), 216-42.

or wholly of the financial burden involved in highway maintenance and construction, and in the operation of schools and libraries. The trend in Texas has paralleled that throughout the Nation and is significant in that it points the way to a possible method of introducing improved police protection for local areas, including the smaller cities, with limited financial resources.

In Texas the state police have been in existence so long as to have become a traditional part of the state government. The recent expansion of the state police evidences a desire, however imperfectly articulated, to supply a minimum police service to sparsely populated areas so far as the available facilities will permit. The smaller cities have permitted the police function to atrophy, as is evidenced by the fact that at least 137 of the 595 cities do not have even one police officer. All save four of these cities are below 3,500 population. The small municipalities which do not have police forces are thus already accustomed to accepting and depending upon outside assistance for police protection. In most instances this service has been rendered by the sheriff or constable, but to an increasing extent the state police are supplying intermittent police services to the smaller cities. Moreover, the organized municipal police in smaller cities increasingly are taking advantage of the services of the Department of Public Safety through exchanges of fingerprint and stolen property records, use of the state's scientific crime detection facilities, and requests for the assistance of the Highway Patrol on special occasions as need arises. As knowledge of the facilities of the state police becomes more widespread, this relationship no doubt will become even more intimate.

Police protection in the smaller municipalities will continue to be sporadic and inadequate, however, until continuous responsibility is assumed by the state for a rural patrol. That this would be no light task is indicated by the state's total land area of 262,398 square miles, most of which is rural. The patrol feature is not new, however, for the Rangers have performed patrol duties along the border for many years and the Highway Patrol covers the principal highways throughout the state. The important point here is that the trend is clearly in the direction of an increasing state responsibility for rural crime control which may serve to bring at least a modicum of needed police service to the smaller cities. On

the basis of Canadian experience, legislation might be secured which would permit cities below 10,000, and especially those below 3,500, population to contract with the state police for the performance of police duties. Such a plan in the beginning would require the city to bear at least a portion of the cost. It may well be, however, that eventually the state will desire to assume complete financial responsibility for this service.

Judged on the basis of the financial ability and the present police personnel of the cities in this state, there are at the most thirty-five or forty, or less than 6 per cent of the total, which possess the funds necessary to provide a specialized police service, and in some of these the resources are such as to make possible only a very limited program. On the basis of the facts disclosed it is evident that municipal police administration, as the term is generally employed, is a problem of the small group of larger cities alone and that responsibility for police service to the smaller cities, whose police problems are largely rural in character, must be assumed in whole or in part by some other unit, probably the state. Population and wealth bear a direct relation to the type of police service which may be rendered, and to view crime control on the basis of the number of units possessing the statutory authority to establish police agencies is to ignore this fundamental fact.

CHAPTER III

RELATIONS WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

When the police organization is viewed in its proper perspective as only one of the several line departments comprising the municipal administrative structure, questions arise as to the number, variety, and character of the existing interrelationships. To an extent not found elsewhere within the municipal administration, the activities of the police impinge upon and are affected by the services rendered by several other departments. To ignore these interrelationships is to oversimplify municipal police administration. Similarly, the police are in more or less continuous contact with and are dependent upon other agencies outside the municipal sphere which are charged with duties relating to law enforcement. To understand the setting in which the police operate, therefore, it is necessary that these internal and external relations with other agencies be accorded some consideration.

INTERDEPARTMENTAL RELATIONS

The close relationships existing between the police and several of the remaining municipal departments are due in the main to the peculiar character of police operations. In police departments large enough to permit specialization, the patrol division maintains a twenty-four-hour vigil over the various portions of the city, for the police are necessarily vitally interested in all unusual occurrences even though they may not require the apprehension of an offender. To be sure, their immediate tasks are crime repression and detection, but in many instances the need for police action is not clear and it may be that what appears superficially to be a police matter will upon examination turn out to be within the province of some other department. It is a general practice to call the police in cases of emergency, and responding to these summons requires a considerable portion of the time of a particular tour of duty even though no record of an offense enters into the patrolman's report. The continuous service rendered by the police also seems to impress the public with the ease of calling the police and receiving information about almost any matter which involves the city. Naturally

many calls are received which do not concern the police but are merely inquiries as to the method to be followed in obtaining action from some other municipal department. The desk sergeant or complaint officer listens to many inquiries which are insignificant; yet the police must encourage public calls so they will be summoned when a real need arises for their services.

The Municipal Court

A review of some of the more important instances of municipal interrelationships will assist in clarifying the picture.¹ The municipal unit with which the police are in almost continuous contact is the corporation, municipal, or police court. It is significant that popular terminology has assigned this tribunal the title of police court even where another title is prescribed by statute. Known in Texas as the corporation court, its jurisdiction is exclusively criminal in character, save for proceedings looking to the forfeiture and collection of bonds, and extends to all criminal cases arising under municipal ordinances. In addition, the corporation court exercises concurrent jurisdiction with the justice of the peace court "in all criminal cases arising under the criminal laws of this State, in which punishment is by fine only, and the maximum of such fine may not exceed two hundred dollars and arising within such corporate limits."² Territorially the jurisdiction of the corporation court embraces the area contained within the boundaries of the municipality and cannot be extended beyond those limits. The rules of procedure of the corporation court are the same as those of the justice of the peace court and appeals may be made to the county court where the trial is *de novo*.³ Rules and regulations governing the practice and procedure of the corporation court may be made by the city provided these enactments are consistent with

¹See C. J. Howell, "The Coördination of Police with the Activities of Other Law Enforcement Agencies," *City Manager Year Book, 1931* (1931), 166-68; S. M. Calkins, "Local Ordinances and Relation of City Police to other City Departments," *Report of Oregon Regional Police Training Program* (League of Oregon Cities, 1937); and Elton D. Woolpert, "Who Polices the City?" *Public Management*, XX (August, 1938), 235-39.

²*Code of Criminal Procedure*, Art. 62.

³*Ibid.*, Art. 876.

state law. The minor character of most of the offenses coming to the attention of the police results in their settlement by the corporation court without further appeal.

The corporation court judge is selected for a two-year term by appointment or popular election. In the five cities above 100,000, the city council makes the appointment in Dallas, San Antonio, and Fort Worth; in Houston the mayor appoints with the approval of the council; in El Paso selection is by popular vote. In the cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population the judge may be appointed by the mayor, the city manager, or the council. The major portion of the judicial business of the corporation court relates to cases arising under the traffic ordinances of the city,⁴ and a more accurate title therefore would be that of traffic court.

The close relationship which exists between the corporation court and the police department in several cities has led to the maintenance of the court as a division of the police department, to the extent that the funds for its support come from the regular police appropriation. This intimate relationship makes necessary a clear understanding on the part of the corporation court judge of the procedure of the police department, particularly as to the efforts of the latter in traffic enforcement. Since the judge is completely independent of the police department, there is a definite necessity for a planned program of coöperation. The responsibility for the conduct of this program rests in considerable part on the chief of police and his commanding officers; they must acquaint the judge with the plans and aims of the department in its traffic enforcement program so that the latter will have definite information concerning police activities and the efforts being made in the interests of traffic safety. Knowledge by the judge of the main features of traffic administration develops a more receptive attitude toward the testimony of traffic officers.⁵

⁴Roscoe C. Martin, *Urban Local Government in Texas* (Austin, 1936), 190-91.

⁵See Curtis Billings, *Accident Prevention Bureaus in Municipal Police Departments* (Safety Division, International Association of Chiefs of Police, and Northwestern University Traffic Safety Institute, 1937), 15-17.

The City Attorney

Entering directly into the procedural relations of the corporation court and the police department is the city attorney, who serves as the prosecuting officer for the city. Ordinarily the duties attaching to prosecution, at least in the larger cities, are the immediate responsibility of an assistant city attorney, who is continuously engaged in the prosecution of all cases arising by virtue of police action. The immense number of cases disposed of in the corporation court precludes the giving of more than fleeting attention to any particular case and thus one of the important parts of any police training program is the instruction of the officers in the art of testifying so as to acquaint them with correct methods and thus to permit the expediting of judicial business. Despite the petty character of most of the business done by the corporation court, the fact that disposition is made daily of a hundred or more cases in the larger cities indicates the significance of this activity and the vast amount of police time expended in attending court to serve as complainants and witnesses.

The Fire Department

Outside the immediate police sphere there are a number of departments with which the police are related,⁶ one of the most important being the fire department. Because of the superficial resemblance of the fire and police departments, earlier practice, particularly under the commission form of government, dictated their combination under a single head. Vestiges of this practice are still found in a few of the larger Texas cities, although in the instance of each adoption of council-manager government a separation has been effected.

Despite the basic differences between the activities of the police and fire departments, which ordinarily require the application of different methods of administration, there is a vital need for a definite program of coöperation. The duties of the police parallel those of the fire department in reporting fire hazards which may be

⁶Many of the activities of the patrol division are of a non-police nature. For a detailed analysis of the actual activities of an individual patrolman, see California Department of Education, *Instructional Analysis of Police Service* (1934).

noted in the conduct of police patrol, the detection and prompt reporting of fires, and assistance in the handling of crowds at fire scenes. Each police department in the larger cities, with the exception of Houston, sends at least one patrolman to fires, and his services are performed under the immediate supervision of an officer of the fire department until a commanding police officer arrives. Further, each police department having a radio communication system broadcasts fire alarms to mobile units and stations of the fire department and assists in locating its superior officers who may be away from their regular stations. Under this plan the police communication system supplements the regular fire alarm and telephone communication system maintained by the fire department and may serve as a partial replacement in the event of a breakdown of the fire alarm system.

The Health Department

The relationships which exist between the health and police authorities vary with the nature of the police program. The need for coöperation arises most frequently (1) when the police request that certain physical examinations be given by the health department and (2) where licenses are issued by the health department. The police constantly find it necessary to call upon the health department to make examinations of persons charged with drunken driving and of prostitutes suspected of infection with venereal diseases. Since the health department ordinarily possesses a staff qualified to make these examinations the police may take advantage of their training and qualifications in order to obtain their testimony in court at a later date. Although the health department will have its own corps of sanitary inspectors, ordinarily they operate only during the regular working period. Through their patrol service the police will have occasion to enter and examine all sorts of establishments at various times of the day and night and thus can supplement the inspection service of the health department by detecting and reporting violations of the city health ordinances.

In some instances the police serve as a licensing agency and in others act in that capacity only when the department ordinarily issuing the license is closed. In examining applicants the licensing

department is required to collect information pertaining to the character of the applicant, and one of the most fruitful sources of information is the police record division.⁷ In some cities the police department constitutes a licensing agency for many activities, although the general practice in Texas cities is to place this duty in the hands of another department.

The nature of police activity is such as to require daily relations with the city hospital. Occasionally individuals are apprehended who are suffering from injuries or disease, and in such cases the offender should be subjected to a thorough examination to determine his physical status. At various times, according to the testimony of numerous police officials, critical situations have arisen because of a failure to provide this examination prior to imprisonment, and suits against officers have resulted. Even in the absence of police fault the public assigns responsibility to the police when an injured offender dies in jail. Where city-owned hospitals also maintain an emergency ambulance service, a schedule may be worked out with the drivers so as to permit radio communication in cases of need and to expedite the assignment of calls.

Other Departments

From earliest times the police have been closely related to the municipal agencies dealing with public welfare and have often performed welfare functions themselves. Some cities maintain legal aid divisions, which have important duties relating to the detection of "loan sharks," and the detective division will be concerned with those investigations which reveal the violation of a state law or municipal ordinance. Cases requiring public relief and assistance in various forms come to the attention of the appropriate agency through notification by the police. While some police departments have on occasion attempted to perform welfare work on their own initiative, the nature of their activities justifies the statement that they are not primarily social case workers. Excessive participation in welfare activities tends to lessen the time available for regular police duties.

⁷The Dallas police are used as an examining agency in the licensing of automobile dealers. "Regulating Automobile Dealers in Dallas," *Public Management*, XIX (December, 1937), 375.

Ordinarily patrolmen are required to notify the utility departments of breaks, negligence on the part of employees, or other incidents which may imperil public safety. Defects in bridges, street pavement, power lines, and sewer and water mains constantly come to the attention of the beat patrolman. As the only representative of the city in evidence at all hours, he is expected to report these defects promptly, although such activities may detract from the more fundamental task of crime repression.

Interdepartmental Coöperation

The duty of insuring the proper coöperation between the police and the various departments which have been noted rests on the police chief; he must take the initiative in fostering and developing a coöperative program. In many instances the police have much to gain from the technical knowledge possessed by various officers outside the police department. Through the record division the chief may inaugurate a study of the occasions requiring the assistance of other municipal departments and develop procedures designed to secure aid at the time and place where needed. Many informal relationships now exist but a more systematic program will preclude the possibility of conflict of authority among members of the several departments.

To assist in the development of such a program a prescribed form may be printed containing a complete list of all occasions requiring a report of conditions affecting other municipal departments. A form used by the Cincinnati police has been recommended by the International Association of Chiefs of Police.⁸ This report form can be carried by the patrolman along with the other forms in his notebook and filled out when occasion demands. It contains a place for noting the time of day and the location of the defect and a check list for each department. In matters affecting the street department, for example, a check list is provided which includes such items as holes in the street, broken curbstones, sidewalks, and man-hole covers, faulty bridges, trees needing attention, and highway and sidewalk encumbrances. A similar check list is provided for

⁸International Association of Chiefs of Police, *Manual of Police Records* (1931), 31.

matters which will need to be called to the attention of other departments. This form is made out in duplicate with the original being sent to the municipal department concerned and the duplicate being preserved in the police record division. On receipt of notification from the department affected that the matter has been attended to, the form may be removed from the file and placed in the officer's individual folder for later use in the compilation of the annual police report. This report may be used by the executive in judging the ability of the patrolmen to perform their duties and for supplementing the information otherwise required for scientific beat construction.⁹

The numerous requests for police assistance in non-criminal matters make necessary an acquaintance by the desk sergeant or complaint officer with the several municipal departments, their location and the services they render, and with the particular officials to be consulted with regard to specific problems which arise. An examination of the rules and regulations of the larger police departments in Texas cities reveals a failure to require this knowledge of the desk sergeant. Since this officer will constantly be queried on matters of this type, it is important that he be able to refer persons to various branches of the city government in order that business may be expedited, complaints received and disposed of, and public relations improved.

This review of the relations between the police department and the remaining municipal departments attests to the primary position of the former agency. If its work is to be of such a character as to lead to an effective program of crime repression and prevention, an effort must be made to utilize every service available to the police in the municipal administration. A study of the present coöperative agreements in Texas cities indicates a general failure

⁹A "special service" report was recommended in Greenwich for use by patrolmen. It provides a check list of certain conditions which should be called to the attention of the various departments concerned with building inspection, fire protection, health, parks, streets, highways, recreation, sewers, criminal investigation (juveniles), traffic, and the private utilities supplying electric, gas, water, and telephone service. If immediate attention is not required, the record division notifies the correct agency. Public Administration Service, *Survey of the Police Department of Greenwich, Connecticut* (1937), 90-91.

to perceive this need, although various rule-of-thumb methods prevail in most of the larger police departments. A regular procedure requiring police reporting on all matters affecting the remaining department is desired. This practice not only would permit a wider police service but also would assist in developing among the police an appreciation of the services rendered by other departments of the city's government.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

The dispersal of the duties attaching to crime control among a number of governmental units is a common feature of American police administration. With the growing tendency for criminal operations to extend beyond the immediate area of the city and even of the state, there are many occasions when the municipal police come into contact with other law enforcement agencies. The erasure of jurisdictional boundaries by criminals and the inability of the municipal police ordinarily to operate outside the city limits result in reliance by the police on other methods of securing information as to criminals and their movements. At the outset it may be noted that in most instances the "coöperation" which exists between the police and their fellows elsewhere is difficult to present and appraise systematically because of the many variables which are present. A few of these coöperative practices, as for example fingerprint exchanges with the state and national identification divisions, and uniform crime reporting, may be measured as to extent. In most instances, however, the relationships of the various police agencies are conducted without reference to previously developed plans and only an approximation of their nature and scope is possible.

A review of the current situation indicates that there may not be as much duplication in the field of local crime control as has been supposed. Without questioning the desirability of a simplified local crime control structure, it may be noted that a partial, even though indefinite, division of labor exists among the several agencies at the present time. In varying degrees the specialized municipal police departments are left largely to themselves by the county officers. Similarly the municipal police are generally found to leave to state and federal agencies those duties for which the

latter are primarily responsible. In fact, it is this practice which has led to increased participation by the state and Federal Governments in local policing and has been deplored as an example of municipal willingness to relieve itself of responsibility for such offenses as possession and sale of narcotics, liquor violations, and gambling. There are, of course, many examples of direct conflict where two agencies are working on the same case, but these are the exceptions; for in practice there is a line dividing the police activities of the various agencies, however blurred it may be.

The law enforcement agencies with which the municipal police are directly related may be divided into those supported from public and from private sources. In turn, public police units may be considered on the basis of the source of their authority, namely the city, county, state, and Federal Governments. In addition to the city, three police units—the constable, sheriff, and district attorney—are found within the county. State police units include the Department of Public Safety, the Liquor Control Board, and the game wardens of the State Game, Fish, and Oyster Commission. Federal police agencies are numerous and varied and permit of different classifications. Those with which the municipal police may come into contact to some extent are the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Secret Service Division, Post Office Inspectors, Bureau of Narcotics, Alcohol Tax Unit, Intelligence Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, Customs Agency Service, Immigration Border Patrol, and Coast Guard.¹⁰ Each of these federal police agencies has at least one suboffice in Texas and some are dependent on or coöperate with the municipal police in various ways. The variety, then, of public law enforcement agencies in this state is wide, and without some account of their activities, an understanding of the real situation confronting the municipal police would be incomplete.

Private police agencies receiving financial support from non-public sources and commissioned by the state are found in the larger cities. Among the more important of these may be mentioned the railroad police, National Auto-Theft Bureau, and an

¹⁰This is the classification used in the study of federal law enforcement agencies by the Brookings Institution, *Investigation of Executive Agencies of the Government: No. 6, Report on the Organization of Federal Law Enforcement Activities*, Seventy-fifth Congress, First Session (1937), 4-5.

alarm and nightwatch supervisory maintained by two private detective agencies. In addition, privately supported officers are employed for the duties of patrol and protection of certain areas in the larger cities, notably Houston, San Antonio, Dallas, and Fort Worth. These private police agencies are not subject to any direct supervision by local or state authority and hence information concerning their activities is not readily available in any systematic form.

The Constable and Sheriff

In point of geographical proximity the law enforcement officer closest to the city police is the constable, who is popularly elected from the justice of the peace precincts into which the county is divided. Not less than four nor more than eight constables may be elected in each county, depending on the population of each precinct.¹¹ The duties of the constable relate chiefly to serving the writs and papers of the justice of the peace court and to making arrests on complaints. As a peace officer his powers may be exercised anywhere within the limits of the county. His duties for the most part, however, are those of a civil officer of the justice of the peace court, which require most of the time of his staff. The sheriff is popularly elected for a two-year term with no limit on reelection.¹² His services in the main are three-fold, consisting of (1) "keeping the peace" of the county, (2) serving as an agent of the county and state courts, and (3) acting as the keeper of the county jail. The size of his staff is small except in the urban counties.

The District Attorney

A fourth police unit concerned occasionally with criminal investigation and apprehension is the district attorney. His investigative function is carried on by a corps of "special investigators," whose duties consist of investigating cases and compiling evidence for use in trials.¹³ Their powers as peace officers are similar to those

¹¹*Revised Civil Statutes*, Art. 6878.

¹²*Ibid.*, Art. 6865.

¹³*Ibid.*, Arts, 326g, 326k-1.

of the sheriff and may be exercised anywhere in the county.¹⁴ Investigators of this type are found only in the largest counties and the staff generally amounts to no more than four or five. Their presence is significant, however, in that it indicates the emergence of an additional investigative unit in the already crowded police sphere and suggests the failure of the prosecutor, sheriff, and police to fulfill effectively their duties relating to detection, apprehension, and prosecution. In those instances where the district attorney does not possess a special corps of investigators he may request separate and independent investigations on his own initiative.

State Police Agencies

Passing from the level of the county to that of the state, three additional police units are found, the most important of which is the State Department of Public Safety. Established in 1935 by the unification of the Rangers and the Highway Patrol, the department possesses facilities and personnel for the conduct of investigations anywhere within the state. The Game, Fish, and Oyster Commission maintains in its game wardens a division of law enforcement charged with the duty of enforcing the various game and fish laws.¹⁵ The enforcement of liquor laws is in the hands of a division of law enforcement of the Liquor Control Board.¹⁶

Federal Police Agencies

In addition to the state and local police a number of federal law enforcement agencies also operate within the limits of the state. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has exclusive jurisdiction over a large number of federal offenses; in general it may be said to have investigative jurisdiction over those offenses which are not specifically assigned to other federal agencies.¹⁷ The Secret Service Division of the Treasury Department is concerned primarily with the detection and repression of counterfeiting. The Intelligence

¹⁴*General and Special Laws of Texas, Forty-fourth Legislature, Regular Session* (1935), Vol. I, Chap. 206, pp. 495-96.

¹⁵Report of the Joint Legislative Committee on Organization and Economy, *The Government of the State of Texas* (Austin, 1933), Part V, 117-19.

¹⁶*General and Special Laws of Texas, Forty-fourth Legislature, First Called Session* (1935), Vol. III, Chap. 467, pp. 1796-1842.

¹⁷Brookings Institution, *op. cit.*, 15-20.

Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue has jurisdiction over major violations of internal revenue laws. The enforcement division of the Alcohol Unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue is concerned with the enforcement of laws and regulations pertaining to the traffic in non-tax-paid spirits. The Bureau of Narcotics receives and investigates complaints relating to the import, manufacture, and sale of narcotic drugs. The police duties of the Coast Guard relate to violations of federal laws occurring in the territorial waters of the United States. The Customs Agency Service of the Bureau of Customs includes two police units, namely the investigative unit and the customs patrol. The former conducts investigations of various complaints regarding customs evasions; the latter carries on a systematic border patrol along the Rio Grande to deal with such matters as smuggling, illegal importations, violations of the Gold Act, etc. The Immigration Border Patrol is charged with the enforcement of the immigration quota laws of the United States and the prevention of illegal entry. The Post Office Inspectors are responsible for the apprehension of all offenders against the postal laws. The offices maintained by the various agencies in Texas are shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII

FIELD OFFICES MAINTAINED BY FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES IN TEXAS, 1937*

Federal Agency	Field Headquarters	Sub-offices	Total
Bureau of Investigation.....	3	-----	3
Secret Service Division.....	-----	3	3
Post Office Inspectors.....	1	5	6
Bureau of Narcotics.....	1	4	5
Alcohol Tax Unit (Internal Revenue).....	-----	2	2
Intelligence Unit (Internal Revenue).....	1	3	4
Customs Agency Service.....	1	5	6
Customs Patrol.....	1	2	3
Immigration Patrol.....	2	4	6
Coast Guard.....	1	-----	1
Total in Texas.....	11	28	39
Total in the United States.....	142	291	433

*Adapted from the report of the Brookings Institution, *op. cit.*, 101-03.

Coöperative Practices

In considering the relationships between the municipal police and the various local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies, it may be noted that the former, in those cities where police specialization has occurred, possess facilities and manpower which may be of assistance to the latter. In the more rural areas the federal police units, for example, may depend directly on the county and state officers, but the nature of some federal offenses requires that the records of the municipal police departments be consulted. The relations between the municipal police and the county and state agencies will depend on the resources possessed by the former. A review of some of the more important relations may now be made.

The most systematic contacts which have developed among the various cities have related for the most part to fingerprint exchanges and radio communication. Because of the absence, until 1935, of a state bureau of criminal identification and records, the larger cities developed their own program of fingerprint exchanges. At the time the subject is fingerprinted, enough additional sets of prints are made to send one to each city with which exchanges are conducted. This practice continues despite the presence of a State Bureau of Identification and Records. Likewise in the field of radio communication information regarding persons wanted and stolen automobiles is exchanged by those cities so located as to make such exchanges practicable. This practice, however, is by no means systematic, since some cities refuse to use their radio transmitters for intercity communication, while others employ ultra-high-frequency transmitters which are not adaptable to intercity use because of the smaller transmitting range. In a few instances the police radio is used by immediately adjacent cities as a regular means of communication with patrol cars. From time to time officers have been sent from one city to another to assist in the apprehension of an especially important criminal, but activities of this kind are sporadic and are not conducted on any planned basis.

Informality also characterizes the relations between the city and county police agencies. The fingerprint files of the city are utilized on some occasions by the county sheriff, but a general lack of training on the part of the sheriffs and their deputies in

fingerprint identification makes this practice the exception rather than the rule. In addition other records maintained by the municipal police relating to stolen property, criminal offenders, and wanted persons may likewise be used by the sheriff, but this practice is confined to the largest counties because of the lack of any formal police records in most of the smaller cities.

The most effective agency in instituting a formal city-county police relationship has been radio communication. Illustrative of this are the arrangements in the counties containing the cities of Dallas, El Paso, San Antonio, and Longview. The Dallas police radio station, in addition to serving two suburban cities, supplies radio communication facilities to the sheriff's department, including a regular night patrol conducted by deputy sheriffs in the rural portions of the county. A similar practice is found in El Paso County, where that part of the county outside the city is divided into districts patrolled by deputy sheriffs. The county highway patrol is also served by the El Paso radio. San Antonio likewise furnishes radio service to the constables, sheriff's department, and county highway patrol in addition to an adjacent city. In Gregg County, which includes Longview, the radio communication system has been established on a coöperative basis. Originally installed by the sheriff, the radio system is supported in part by the payments of four cities which contribute a definite sum for each mobile receiver used. In 1937 the City of El Paso and El Paso County entered into an agreement providing for the joint operation of the police radio system.¹⁸ In addition to revolutionizing the police communication structure, one of the most important by-products of radio has been the development of the practice by which several independent police units employ one central transmitter. Experience elsewhere seems to indicate that this practice is general and radio may thus serve to promote the coördination of police activities.¹⁹

City-state relations in the field of crime control are characterized by coöperation and by direct conflict. With the installation of the State Bureau of Identification and Records, regular fingerprint

¹⁸El Paso Police Department, *Annual Report, 1937* (1938), 14-15.

¹⁹Charles R. Erdman, "By-Products of Police Radio," *National Municipal Review*, XXV (August, 1936), 474-76.

exchanges have been developed, and the rapid growth of the Bureau is due to the contributions of the larger municipalities. Assistance to smaller police departments is rendered by the state in making available the facilities of the scientific crime detection laboratory and in supplying information in periodical form on stolen property, auto thefts, and wanted persons. Attempts in the past to supply police training for municipal and county officers have been supplanted by a regular series of peace officers' training schools inaugurated by the Department in 1937.²⁰ Because of the absence of a state-wide communication system the Department has utilized local police radio systems in different sections of the state. The steady expansion of the Department of Public Safety since 1935 points toward increasingly intimate city-state relations in the field of crime control.

One of the most difficult problems confronting the state police is the extent to which they will interfere with municipal officers in instances where local standards are more "liberal" than those of the state. It seems that each state police agency has faced this problem and Texas is no exception. Particularly has this become acute on occasion with reference to the enforcement of gambling laws. The present policy of the Department of Public Safety is summarized in the following statement: "The Legislature enacted the laws against gambling and has repeatedly refused to repeal them or to exempt any community from their operation. . . . Until the Legislature does repeal the gambling laws this Department will continue to enforce them."²¹ This is the traditional concept of the function of the state police, for in the past the Rangers have been used by governors to undertake the enforcement of vice laws which were being neglected or ignored by local officers.

City-federal police relations are most direct and continuous in the instance of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Fingerprint exchanges and stolen property and uniform crime reports are sent to the Federal Bureau of Investigation by several cities. In addition, the Bureau's scientific crime detection facilities are made

²⁰Homer Garrison, Jr., "Texas Police Officers' Training School--Number One," *Sheriff's Association of Texas Magazine*, VII (February, 1938), 24-27.

²¹From an account of the activities of the State Department of Public Safety from August 10, 1935 to December 1, 1936, p. 26.

available to the municipal police, although the recent entry of the State Department of Public Safety into this field has lessened reliance on Washington. Through its National Police Academy the Federal Bureau of Investigation conducts periodic training programs which have been attended by municipal officers, some of whom have returned to institute training programs in the local department. The investigative activities of the municipal police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation may overlap on some occasions inasmuch as a particular offense may constitute a violation of both state and federal laws. For example, kidnaping offenses are punishable under state and federal laws. In these instances the overlapping sphere of jurisdiction may cause conflicts.

Some of the other federal law enforcement agencies likewise rely on local assistance, particularly the Secret Service Division which estimates that its personnel would have to be increased at least ten times if it were not for the help given by local police units.²² Other federal police agencies whose work brings them into close contact with the municipal police are the Alcohol Tax Unit, Bureau of Narcotics, and Immigration Border Patrol. The recent extensions of federal jurisdiction in the field of crime control seem to indicate a growing volume of city-federal relations, particularly in the instance of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.²³

Relations between the police and private law enforcement agencies within the municipal limits generally consist of making available to the latter such services as radio dispatching, criminal records, and assistance in particular cases.²⁴ The private police

²²Brookings Institution, *op. cit.*, 98.

²³Paul V. Betters, *Recent City-Federal Relations* (Washington, 1936), 119-26.

Increased attention to the extent to which the municipal police and certain federal police agencies may supplement each other in crime control is shown by the curricula of some police training schools. See, for example, Kansas Police School, *Manual of Instruction* (1937), 63-65, 99-100; and *Proceedings, Minnesota Police Training School* (University of Minnesota, 1936), 57-61.

²⁴Information regarding the personnel, type of service, and expenditures of the private protective agencies is not available. It is known that in some of the cities the number employed is large. National efforts to obtain similar information were also unavailing. See National Commission on Law Observation and Enforcement, *Report on the Cost of Crime* (1931), 52-53. An

operate independently of the city agencies and such coöperation as is found is due entirely to local efforts. The general attitude toward the private agencies is that their presence relieves the city police of a certain portion of their duties and hence their presence is generally welcomed, although exceptions to this are found. What is important in this respect is that these protective agencies maintained at private expense are extensive in number and approach the actual effective patrol strength of some police departments. In some cities the more exclusive residential sections are patrolled exclusively by private forces and the municipal police have abandoned the areas and enter only in cases of emergency. To the extent that the service rendered by private agencies is that which is properly a responsibility of the municipal police, the duties of crime control are being assumed by an agency largely independent of public control.

The Police and Prosecution

The primary duty of the district attorney is that of prosecution. Theoretically the police investigate the case, prepare the evidence, and submit it to the prosecutor, who in turn takes charge of the case, presents the evidence to the court, and endeavors to secure a conviction. Actually, however, intense jealousy may exist between the police and the prosecutor, and the elective character of the latter plus the fact that the position of prosecutor is generally the stepping stone to a higher political office makes coöperation the exception rather than the rule. To eliminate this conflict some have recommended either that the function of prosecution be handed over to the police and made a part of their regular routine,²⁵ or that a legal division be set up within the police department to prepare cases for presentation to the prosecuting attorney.²⁶ On the other hand, some see in these proposals a failure to recognize present tendencies toward centralization of crime

account of private law enforcement agencies in Pennsylvania is given in J. P. Shalloo, *Private Police* (Philadelphia, 1933).

²⁵Bruce Smith, "Municipal Police Administration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXLVI (November, 1929), 15-19.

²⁶Leonard V. Harrison, *Police Administration in Boston* (Cambridge, 1934), 137-39.

control and prosecuting powers in the hands of the state and therefore propose that the consolidation be made at the level of the state rather than the county.²⁷

While the existence of this conflict is recognized, systematic attempts at its solution have been lacking. For a time one Texas city maintained a legal division headed by a captain of police whose duties were those of preparing cases for presentation to the district attorney. This practice was later discontinued with a change in police executives and the experiment has not been repeated elsewhere. In view of the absence of any immediate prospects of centralizing the prosecuting function at the state level, it is probable that the municipal police will be impelled to consider the possibility of preparing their own cases for presentation to the district attorney. This practice will not eliminate all complaints of insufficient or inadmissible evidence by the district attorney. The fact that the case has been declared ready for prosecution by a capable attorney under police control, however, may serve as an answer to the familiar charges that insufficient investigations hamper prosecution.

Multiplication of Police Units

With the concentration of population which has marked the growth of the state in recent years, certain police problems have arisen because of the existence of a large number of police units serving a limited area. For purposes of discussion and illustration seven regions have been selected which show the existence of population concentration and the multiplication of police units. These areas include the two counties containing the cities of Dallas and Fort Worth; the two counties including Houston and Galveston; Jefferson County with the cities of Beaumont and Port Arthur; El Paso County with the City of El Paso; the Rio Grande Valley which embraces the three counties of Cameron, Hidalgo, and Willacy and the cities of Brownsville, Harlingen, and Edinburg; the East Texas oil field including three counties and the cities of Tyler and Longview; and Bexar County in which the City of San

²⁷Arthur C. Millsbaugh, *Local Democracy and Crime Control* (Washington, 1936), 236-42.

Antonio is located. Information concerning these particular areas is presented in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII

LOCAL POLICE AGENCIES IN CERTAIN REGIONS OF TEXAS, 1937

Region	Area in Square Miles	Estimated Population (1936)	Population per Square Mile	Per Cent of Popula- tion in Incor- porated Areas	Total Number of Local Police Agencies
Dallas-Fort Worth	1,762	561,500	318.7	88.5	32
Houston-Galveston	2,049	456,950	223.0	86.4	28
Beaumont-Port Arthur.....	920	133,391	145.0	91.4	14
El Paso	923	135,600	146.9	79.6	11
Rio Grande Valley	2,969	186,980	63.0	56.1	44
East Texas Oil Field....	2,215	205,000	92.6	45.3	38
San Antonio	1,263	321,000	254.2	81.9	12
Total	12,101	2,000,421	165.3	79.0	179

These areas embrace 4.6 per cent of the state's total land area and approximately one-third of the total population. The police problems which the concentration of population tends to develop are well-known phenomena in all urban areas. In each region the municipal police departments large enough to permit specialization constitute the most important agencies of crime control. The presence of a large number of less important police agencies, each striving for its place in the sun, is indicative of the extent of police multiplication, and with increasing urbanization the number will continue to mount. Whatever may be the future roles of state and federal agencies in crime control, it seems that the major municipal police departments in urban areas will continue to form the basic unit because of the facilities which they possess.²⁸

The words "coöperation" and "coördination" have occupied prominent places in the vocabularies of those who have dealt with the problems of local crime control in recent years. Judging from a review of some of the statements made as to the necessity of coöperation, it is evident that the term is used on occasion without taking into account the realities of the local scene. For

²⁸For a planned program of police coöperation within a particular region, see Bruce Smith, *A Regional Police Plan for Cincinnati and Its Environs* (New York, 1932).

this reason some have suggested that consolidation must precede coördination.²⁹ Measurements of the relationships of the municipal police with other police units give an approximation of their present scope and indicate the extent to which the specialized police department serves as a basic unit in the efforts at crime control within the immediate area of the city. While municipal police administration is concerned directly with the policing of the area within the city limits, the steady expansion of the crime control function at the levels of state and nation introduces new or expanded relationships which tend to render more indistinct the lines separating the several jurisdictions. Below the level of the state the municipal police deal directly with both private and public crime control agencies. The patterns of these relationships are not often clearly defined or understood, but it is clear that they are growing more varied and complex and cannot be ignored by one who would grasp the realities of the police problem.

²⁹Bruce Smith, "Coördination of Police Units," *Proceedings, Forty-second Annual Convention, International Association of Chiefs of Police* (1935), 63-65.

CHAPTER IV

POLICE ORGANIZATION

One of the most notable features of municipal government has been the tendency toward experimentation with various organizational patterns.¹ Municipal reformers and students of administration alike have engaged in a continuous quest for a formula designed to eliminate structures which have proved unable to cope effectively with the increasing burdens placed on the government, and to install in their stead devices which would permit the performance of the necessary services in a more efficient manner. While the former faith in structure as established by statute has lessened and more attention is being devoted to administration, nevertheless the search for a structure more in accord with current needs continues.

The fluidity of the municipal governmental structure has directly affected the organization designed to meet the police needs of the community, and even where no general reorganizations have been effected constant experimentation until recent years has characterized the police administrative structure.² In this regard American cities differ markedly from those of England, which have utilized the same general features of police organization since the creation of modern police departments.³ Accompanying these changes has been a wide diversity in the form of police organizations. Even within a single state, cities employ varying forms of police organization, although in recent years the trend is steadily in the direction of an integrated department headed by a single administrator.⁴

¹In somewhat different form this chapter has previously appeared as R. Weldon Cooper, "Municipal Police Organization," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, XVIII (March, 1938), 333-42.

²Raymond B. Fosdick, *American Police Systems* (New York, 1920), Chap. II.

³"The Centenary of Watch Committees," *Police Chronicle and Constabulary World*, No. 43 (September 6, 1935), 1.

⁴A recent study of the types of police organization employed in the 109 cities over 80,000 population showed that 30 departments were headed by chiefs or superintendents of police responsible directly to the mayor or city manager, while 20 departments still employed police commissions. In the

These organizational changes have been conditioned also by the desire to keep the police under close popular control, a manifestation of the democratic tradition which has obstructed needed organizational reforms in many instances.⁵ These constant efforts to improve police organization, while productive of confusion and frustration, at the same time have prevented the crystallization of public opinion in favor of any particular type and therefore have permitted changes which might have been impossible had tradition constituted an important barrier.

While the efforts of the reformers were devoted largely to the external relations of the police to the political system and were designed for the primary purpose of removing "politics" from police administration, nevertheless far-reaching changes have occurred within the organization. Recent developments in communication, police science, traffic regulation, and transportation, which were found only in an elementary form prior to 1900, have tended to direct attention to organization as one of the means of coping with the expanding police needs of the community. With the increasing demands for police service and the financial inability of municipalities to furnish increased manpower as readily as in the past, the matter of police organization assumes an even higher position of prominence.

THE ROLE OF ORGANIZATION IN ADMINISTRATION

The concept of organization dates from remote times, but only recently have its implications for the purposes of public management been made the subject of scientific inquiry. Organization has been defined briefly as "the form of every human association for the attainment of a common purpose."⁶ A more lengthy definition characterizes organization as "the arrangement of personnel for

remaining cities the police executive was ordinarily subject to the control of a commissioner of public safety. Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, *How Police Departments Are Headed* (1932).

⁵Bruce Smith, "Municipal Police Administration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXLVI (November, 1929), 4.

⁶James D. Mooney and Alan C. Reiley, *Onward Industry! The Principles of Organization and Their Significance to Modern Industry* (New York, 1931), 10.

facilitating the accomplishment of some agreed purpose through the allocation of functions and responsibilities. It is the relating of efforts and capacities of individuals and groups engaged upon a common task in such a way as to secure the desired objective with the least friction and the most satisfaction to those for whom the task is done and those engaged in the enterprise."⁷ It will be noted that both definitions stress the non-mechanical features of organization, and that the latter emphasizes the importance of flexibility and the definite need for a consideration of the individuals comprising the association in constructing an organization. Organization is not a completed blueprint handed down from above to be followed without question; the capabilities of its staff and the stresses to which it is subject will call for periodical readjustments. The scientific study of organization has been accompanied by an effort to discover the principles which determine its form and inter-relations. In an effort to apply these principles to the police organization, a brief consideration of those which have been proposed is in order.

The basic principle of organization is coördination, which is concerned with relating the efforts of a particular group to a common purpose.⁸ Coördination may be thought of as horizontal and perpendicular. Perpendicular coördination is secured through authority, and is accompanied directly by responsibility. In order that authority may be diffused throughout the organization it is necessary that there be leadership. Authority is the supreme coördinating influence within the organization. Leadership, on the other hand, is "the form in organization through which authority enters into process . . . there must be leadership as the necessary direction of the entire organized movement."⁹

In order for leadership to effectuate the purposes for which the organization is formed, it is necessary to delegate authority from

⁷John M. Gaus, "A Theory of Organization in Public Administration," in *The Frontiers of Public Administration* (Chicago, 1936), 66-67.

⁸James D. Mooney, "The Principles of Organization," in Luther Gulick and L. Urwick, Editors, *Papers on the Science of Administration* (New York, 1937), 91-98.

⁹*Ibid.*, 93.

the superior to the subordinate, with the superior remaining responsible for the execution of the task imposed. This chain of correlated responsibility, which has been termed the "scalar" chain, extends from the top throughout the organization, but finds its source in the leadership at the apex. The purpose of delegation is to secure a coördination of the functions, that is, the different types of duties, which combined form the original motive of the organization. Differentiating functions begin to appear immediately below the executive, and the purpose of leadership, operating through a delegation of duties, is to secure a coördination of these functions.

In contrast with perpendicular coördination the principle of horizontal coördination is based not on authority but on "the universal service of knowledge."¹⁰ This concept raises the distinction between line and staff, with the line agencies being based on authority while the staff agencies are designed for the purposes of providing certain services common to all departments and for advice and counsel. As important as is the concept of authority in organization, it is no more important than the staff function, which constitutes a necessary adjunct and aid to the function of command.

The separation of the personnel engaged in realizing the purpose of the organization into those primarily concerned with purpose, such as health, fire, or police, and those whose major function is to facilitate and assist in a more effective realization of the purpose, constitutes the basis for the distinction between line and staff services. The staff concept may be further clarified by noting two classes concerned with this phase of organization. These comprise those "who have to do with finance, personnel, materials, and the preparation of reports, who may be called the 'auxiliary' technical staff officers, and those who assist the chief administrative directive officials and who may be called the 'general' staff officers."¹¹ This division of the duties of those engaged in the staff function serves to clarify its role in the organization and further to eliminate some of the misunderstanding as to the control characteristics which are found in the first class of technical staff officers.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 95.

¹¹Gaus, *op. cit.*, 71.

Since the original motive for the formation of an organization is the realization of a common purpose, it follows that those engaged in its operation must understand their parts and the rôles which they must play. Each member having a definite responsibility for the performance of a particular task must see this job as it relates to the general purpose and feel his importance in attaining the desired goal.¹² It may be stated further that the best efforts of the individual will not be obtained unless he has had some part in determining the purpose or has been permitted to participate to some extent in the carrying out of the purpose by the group of which he is a member.

The respective influences of structure and personnel in public administration have constituted a subject of general debate for many years. While the importance of personnel in the realization of the aims of police organization is not to be disputed, a review of the results of various police surveys in recent years adds weight to the conclusion that organizational defects must be assigned a considerable share of responsibility for the ineffectiveness of police administration.¹³ It is realized, of course, that the most effective police organization, and for that matter the most highly trained police personnel, cannot develop acceptable standards of police administration in those circumstances where community standards or political situations are such as to hamper or prevent police action. Nevertheless, criticisms of the practices of police organization found in the cities subjected to critical study strengthens the belief that the

¹²*Ibid.*, 67-68; Mooney, *op. cit.*, 96.

¹³Analyses of the deficiencies of police organization in particular cities may be found in the following police surveys: August Vollmer, *Survey of the Minneapolis Police Department* (1930), 57, and *Survey of the Metropolitan Police Department of Kansas City, Missouri* (1929), 37-38; John A. Greening, *Survey of the Police Department of the City and County of Honolulu* (1932), 127-29; Portland Police Survey Commission, *Survey of the Bureau of Police, Portland, Oregon* (1934), 9; San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, "Police Department Survey Report," *The City*, XVII (July 7, 1937), 60-61; New Haven Taxpayers, Inc., *Proposals for Reorganizing New Haven's Police Department and Recording Methods* (1937), 6; Public Administration Service, *Survey of the Police Department of Greenwich, Connecticut* (1937), 4; and Institute of Public Administration, *Survey of the Pittsburgh Bureau of Police* (1937), 4-14.

subject of organization merits primary consideration in any study of police administration.

ORGANIZATION AND THE POLICE

The entrance of the police function into the structure of municipal administration occurs at the point where functional differentiation begins. In any integrated administrative organization the police department is on the same level as health, fire, public works, and other municipal functions. At the outset, therefore, the question arises as to the relationships which exist between the remaining portions of the administrative structure and the police organization. Municipal police organization may be considered as to (1) the patterns of overhead control and (2) internal arrangements. This approach involves consideration of the lines of authority running perpendicularly upward from the chief of police to the mayor or manager and horizontally to the staff agencies, and an examination of the lines of authority proceeding downward from the chief of police to the various functional units within the police organization.¹⁴

Overhead Control

Various patterns of overhead control have been devised for use in municipal police organization. Diverse methods of selecting the police executives are found. Throughout the United States police chiefs are selected by state appointment, police commission, popular election, mayor or manager, and civilian commissioner of public safety.¹⁵ With the prevailing trend of integration in municipal administration, however, the practice of permitting appointment by the mayor or manager is being increasingly adopted. Particularly

¹⁴As employed here the terms "police executive" and "chief of police" refer to the professional head of the police department and are to be differentiated from the civilian commissioner sometimes interposed between the chief of police and the chief executive of the city. The chief of police is sometimes known as commissioner or superintendent. The term "police department" is employed to refer to the police organization, although a great diversity of terminology is employed in the denomination of police organizations as divisions, bureaus, etc.

¹⁵Elmer D. Graper, *American Police Administration* (New York, 1921), 27-53.

is this true in the council-manager plan, which ordinarily places the police department on the same plane as the remaining departments and requires the appointment of a police executive directly responsible to the manager with no intervening level of authority.

The police organization comes into direct contact with the remaining line departments, as noted previously, and also with the staff agencies of the municipal administration. The nature of these relations is such that a police organization chart does not show the many daily contacts with the several municipal line departments. In a different manner the police organization is directly related to the staff agencies concerned with budgeting, purchasing, and personnel administration. Likewise in those instances where an elected or appointed civilian administrator is selected to supervise the activities of the professional police executive, there arise many questions as to the proper relationships between these two individuals. In some cases the professional chief may be shunted out of the picture and given little or no authority in the actual operation of the department. Elsewhere complete authority may be delegated, with the civilian commissioner serving in the nature of a *liaison* agent between the mayor or manager and the police executive. The principle of homogeneity in police organization is violated where the chief of police is made responsible to a commissioner of fire and police. Superficially the departments of fire and police may appear to have similar functions, but an examination of their activities will reveal so many variations as to cast serious doubt on the usefulness of such a combination.

The types of overhead organization found in Texas cities are revealed by the methods of selecting the police executive. These are (1) appointment by mayor or manager, (2) appointment by a civilian commissioner of fire and police, and (3) popular election. With few exceptions the chief of police is selected by one of the first two methods in the larger cities of the state. Since eight of the fourteen cities over 40,000 population possess council-manager governments, the prevailing plan is to interpose no intervening authority between the police chief and the manager. In the remaining six cities three employ civilian commissioners of fire and police, two permit direct appointment by the mayor, and one selects by popular election. The practice of state appointment and

the employment of a police commission are not found in Texas cities.

The Auxiliary-Primary Distinction

The internal arrangements of the police organization are determined by the purposes of its creation. In general the major purposes may be listed as (1) the repression of crime, (2) the detection and apprehension of offenders and assistance in their prosecution, (3) traffic regulation, (4) vice control, and (5) crime prevention. This list by no means exhausts the duties which have been imposed on the police, but the functions named constitute the major purposes of municipal police organizations and form the basis for fashioning the police structure.

The activities of a police organization may be divided into those which are primary and represent the purposes outlined above, and those which are auxiliary but essential aids in the realization of the primary functions. To distinguish these two types of functions an example of an ordinary police activity may be cited. A citizen returns home after an absence and finds a burglary has been committed, as a result of which certain articles are missing. He immediately telephones the police and makes a complaint which is recorded by the complaint officer on a special form. Immediately the patrolman on the beat is dispatched by radio to make a preliminary investigation regarding the nature of the incident. If the offense is not capable of immediate solution a detective is assigned to pursue an investigation which involves such actions as noting the method of entrance, the object of attack in the form of money, clothing, etc., and the type of building entered. A list of the stolen property is made available to dealers in those articles, and the investigator, who is usually experienced in this particular type of offense, begins his search.

The major purpose of this routine is the apprehension of the offender and the recovery of the property. In their investigations, however, the patrolman and the detective are assisted by certain auxiliary aids. The first element which enters is that of communication. The telephone forms a link between the citizen and the police department and radio is employed in dispatching the patrolman to the scene. The recording of the offense at headquarters

and the subsequent addition of supplementary reports covering further steps are added to the original complaint and form a complete account of all police action regarding the particular offense. Moreover, the record system of the police department, including such information as *modus operandi* files explaining the method of operation of certain offenders, pawnshop files, fingerprint records, and other sources of information are utilized by the investigator in his efforts at apprehension. Throughout this process, the importance of securing a capable personnel is apparent.

From this example it may be noted that while the internal aspects of the police organization must be ordered in such a fashion as to permit the realization of the major purposes, auxiliary services in the form of particular aids also enter into the situation and form an important and necessary segment of the organization. The following division may assist in clarifying this distinction:

Primary Functions	Auxiliary Services
1. Crime Repression	1. Secretarial
2. Criminal Investigation	2. Personnel
3. Traffic Regulation	3. Records
4. Special Functions	4. Communication
a. Vice Control	5. Property Management
b. Crime Prevention	

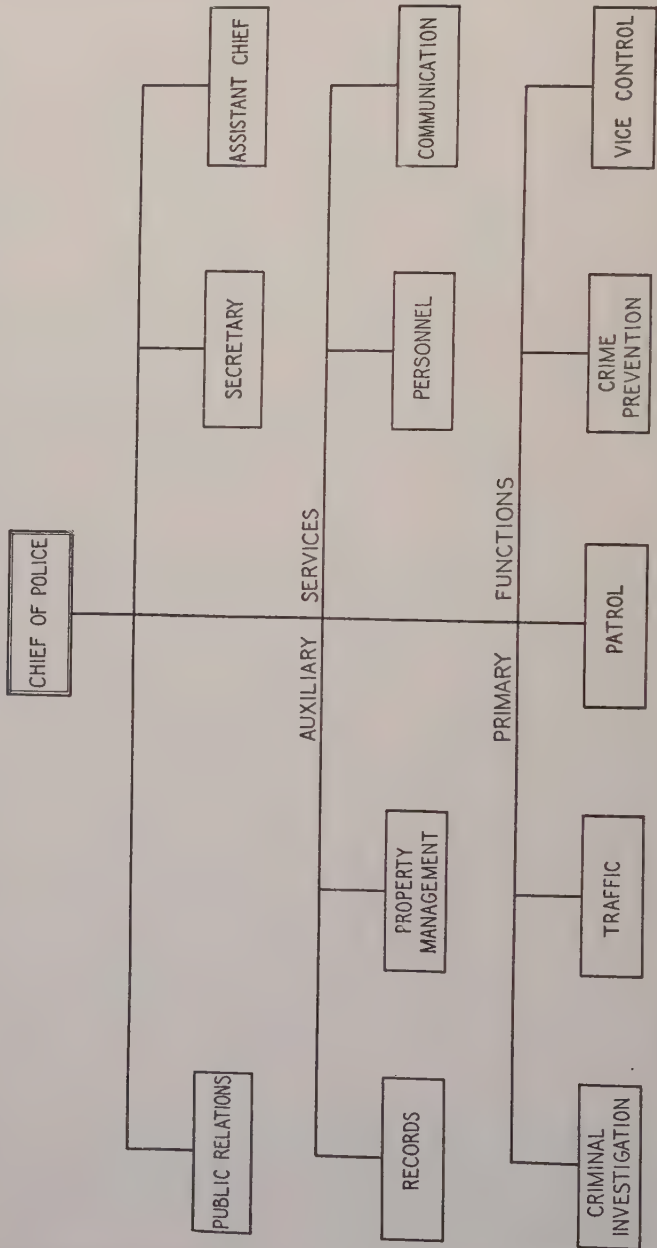
It does not follow from the listing in separate columns of the auxiliary and primary functions of the police organization that a bifurcated structure is found immediately under the police executive. Instead, in those instances where the police organization is sufficiently large to permit specialization, the auxiliary services will be clustered around the chief in the form of a headquarters division, and directly below the chief will be the several primary functions on an equal plane of authority. Further, many interrelationships exist among the several functions, both auxiliary and primary. The purpose of the distinction made here is to emphasize the respective roles of primary functions and auxiliary services in the police program; there will necessarily be continuous and intimate relationships between the two. The primary functions form the end purpose of the police organization; the auxiliary services are only means to an end, and the sole reason for their existence is that they assist in the more effective realization of the primary functions.

The primary functions of patrol, criminal investigation, traffic regulation, vice control, and crime prevention constitute the functional bases of the police organization (see the accompanying chart). Crime repression is the first duty of the patrol division, although it may overlap somewhat with criminal investigation in those departments which require the investigation of minor offenses by the patrol officer. More serious offenses are detailed to the criminal investigation division for study and solution. Traffic regulation embraces the enforcement of traffic ordinances as well as broader programs of engineering and education. Vice control continues as one of the most troublesome and difficult problems of police administration, and for that reason has been separated in many instances from the criminal investigation division to which formerly it was usually attached. Finally, the increased interest devoted to crime prevention in the form of attention to juvenile offenses has been accepted in many jurisdictions as a regular duty of the police.¹⁶

The principal auxiliary services are those relating to the performance of secretarial duties, personnel administration, records, communication, and property management. Secretarial duties refer to the activities of the secretary of the department. Through this office many of the routine police relations with the remaining staff and line agencies of the municipal administration are conducted. Whether the police personnel is selected by an independent agency or by departmental authority, questions regarding the training, placement, rating, and promotion of officers retain a position of first importance. Records constitute the basic auxiliary service, providing a source of information for a more effective administrative control. Communication facilitates citizen contact with the police and permits a more flexible dispersal of the personnel in a manner not possible prior to the development of police radio communication. The management of equipment, in view of the increasing

¹⁶The primary functions here listed may be challenged on the ground that some do not fit readily into the traditional police pattern. The inclusion of traffic regulation and vice control is especially open to criticism on this score. Nevertheless, at present the major duties of the police are those listed and the municipal police organization must provide for their inclusion.

A SPECIALIZED MUNICIPAL POLICE ORGANIZATION



motorization of the police and the utilization of other technical aids, bears directly on the effectiveness of the primary divisions.

The application of the primary-auxiliary distinction to the functions of the police organization implies the separation of the two kinds of duties for purposes of supervision and control. Particularly is this true in the larger departments where the amount of work and the numerical strength reach formidable proportions. As the basic auxiliary service, it is especially important that the record division be removed from the control of the primary divisions. The failure to realize the auxiliary character of police records is shown in many departments where records, including criminal identification, have been placed in the detective division. In such instances the records are not readily available for use elsewhere without irritating delays, and, as a result, small but permanent record bureaus tend to multiply throughout the department. Combinations of auxiliary services are necessary in the smaller departments and the record division serves as the proper point for the amalgamation of the duties relating to personnel administration, communication, and property management.¹⁷ The necessity for similar combinations occurs in the instance of the primary division. The traffic and patrol functions may be consolidated in a uniform division; vice control may be, and in many departments is, a duty of the criminal investigation division; while crime prevention may not be considered a police function. So long as the numerical strength of the police is sufficient to permit specialization, the distinction between primary functions and auxiliary services is useful in police organization.

Territorial Organization

If the police organization were based wholly on the division of activities noted above, the major distinction would be that of purpose and process. Organization on the basis of purpose is found in the instance of the criminal investigation division which is charged directly with the apprehension of criminal offenders and the recovery of stolen property in certain types of offenses. Process

¹⁷See the recommendations for Pasadena in International Association of Chiefs of Police, *Manual of Police Records* (1931), 5; and for Greenwich in Public Administration Service, *op. cit.*, 4-6.

determines the place of the record division; it provides a service which is necessary in the functioning of the several primary divisions and must therefore be accorded a place in the police organization which will insure the rendering of this service in the most effective manner. The geographical element enters into police organization, however, when the spatial scope of police activities is such as to make necessary the permanent location of officers in precinct stations throughout the city.¹⁸ The introduction of the element of distance adds a complicating factor, making supervision much more difficult than in those departments which are found in a single building. Under these conditions there must be a subdivision of the police executive in the form of assistants or deputies who serve to keep the chief authority in touch with the widespread organization. In smaller police departments all police activities may be centered in one headquarters building and the problems raised by geographical subdivision are eliminated.

The recent adaptation of improved communication and transportation facilities to police work and the expansion of police science have combined to force an increasing geographical centralization designed to facilitate the efforts of the police organization.¹⁹ As has been stated in the instance of another jurisdiction:

When New Scotland Yard was built, police duties were of a simple and straightforward character as compared with the present day. There were no motor cars and practically no traffic laws; the work in connection with the prevention and detection of crime was not directed and supervised centrally to the extent that it is today; fingerprints had not been introduced and criminal records were only beginning to be developed; and the whole of the present

¹⁸Precinct stations are found in all cities over 300,000 population with one exception. In the cities over 500,000 population the range in number of stations (including headquarters) is from seven in Milwaukee to eighty-four in New York City. In the group from 300,000 to 500,000 the range is from one in Indianapolis to fifteen in Washington, D. C. St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, *Comparative Police Data, St. Louis and Other Cities Over 300,000 Population* (1937), 20. For specific examples, see Leonard V. Harrison, *Police Administration in Boston* (Cambridge, 1934), 158-69; San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, *op. cit.*, 63; and Providence Governmental Research Bureau, *Survey and Report on the Providence Police Department* (1933), 20-24.

¹⁹See F. T. Tarry, "Mechanization as an Aid to Police Duties," *The Police Journal*, VI (London, 1933), 210-35.

system of communications was in its infancy. There is no branch of police work that has not in the last forty years become immensely more complicated, *more subject to central control and supervision and more scientific*. Each department must have its own group of experts and specialists, and *every new development involves more and more central supervision*.²⁰

In line with these trends recent police surveys have recommended the abolition or reduction of the number of separate precinct divisions. In New Haven a complete abolition of six precinct stations was proposed; in San Francisco seven out of fourteen were ordered abolished, in New Orleans seven out of eleven, and in Portland one out of three.²¹ In common with this national trend Texas police departments with one exception have abandoned precinct stations and centered their activities at a central headquarters. Originally all were abolished under the impact of the depression, motorization, and the police radio, but one city, Houston, recently reopened three precinct stations. This may be regarded as temporary, however, and due to the vagaries of the local administration rather than to any fundamental dissatisfaction with geographical unification. It is evident that the movement toward an increasing geographical subdivision in the police organization has subsided and that henceforth the trend will be in the direction of a more closely supervised, centrally located police unit.²²

²⁰*Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for the year 1934* (Cmd. 4866, London, 1935), 8; italics mine.

A similar tendency has been noted in Canada. See Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research, "The Trend of Development in Police Administration," *White Paper No. 220* (February 25, 1937).

²¹New Haven Taxpayers, Inc., *op. cit.*, 1; San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, *op. cit.*, 64-65; Portland Police Survey Commission, *op. cit.*, 23-25; and New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research, *Report on the Patrol Service and Precinct Stations of the New Orleans Police Department* (1934), 6. See also Providence Governmental Research Bureau, *op. cit.*, 20-22.

²²The trend in the direction of the elimination of geographical subdivisions has met with much opposition in police ranks. The pros and cons of this question have been marshalled briefly in the report of the Portland Police Survey Commission cited above.

Span of Control

Within the police organization the question arises as to the number of subordinates which should report directly to the police executive. That this question is of practical significance may be noted by a study of the various surveys, which indicate a general practice of requiring the chief of police to attempt direct supervision of too many units. Psychological studies have indicated that the "span of attention" of a particular individual is limited, and students of organization have devoted increasing attention to the executive's "span of control."²³ By the term "span of control" is meant the number of activities that one individual can supervise in an effective manner without either neglecting his responsibility for coördination or becoming immersed in departmental routine and thereby losing the broad perspective required in management. On applying this principle to the police organization it is found that if the special functions should be divided into separate units of vice control and crime prevention there would be ten units reporting directly to the chief. This does not take into account certain subdivisions of the primary functions which may be required by virtue of the size of the organization.

As has been pointed out, however, other factors, including diversification of functions, time, and space, must be considered in determining the span of control of the executive.²⁴ Diversification is present in the form of such technical matters as engineering, police science, and records. The time element enters by virtue of the dynamic character of the police organization occasioned by extensive motorization and the development of radio communication, which have had the effects of reducing the size of the city in point of time and of permitting a speedier mobilization of manpower in a crisis period. Space is also a factor. In the instance of police organizations housed in single or closely connected buildings the matter of supervision differs from those which must disperse their personnel in precinct stations. In the larger cities it is necessary to subdivide the police executive by the appointment of

²³V. A. Graicunas, "Relationship in Organization," in Luther Gulick and L. Urwick, Editors, *op. cit.*, 183-87.

²⁴Luther Gulick, "Notes on the Theory of Organization," *ibid.*, 8-9.

assistants or deputies to serve as his agents in supervising the activities of the police organization.²⁵

The scope of the police organization is not sufficiently large in Texas departments to prevent effective supervision and the principal weakness is the reporting of too many units to the executive in some departments. With one exception the police organization is housed in one building or in closely connected structures and the chief is able to supervise directly the activities of more individuals than would otherwise be the case. The auxiliary services are found in various combinations. The general practices in each of the larger police organizations in Texas will be noted as the individual activities are discussed. It may be noted at this time, however, that the question of the span of control need not cause concern until the cities have exceeded their present area and population. There seems as yet to be no clear realization in Texas departments of the distinction between auxiliary services and primary functions, with the result that coördination is often lacking however symmetrical the organization chart may be.

Police management is vitally concerned with organization. As originally organized the primary functions of the municipal police consisted largely of patrol and a primitive form of criminal investigation. Successive additions in the form of traffic regulation, scientific crime detection, and crime prevention have been accompanied by the general adoption of radio communication and the motorization of the police. These recent developments have led to serious doubts as to the effectiveness of structures which continue to be organized on the basis of foot patrol needs. Furthermore, the many aids which have been made available for police use have necessitated attention to their proper location in the police structure. Municipal police administration is concerned with something more than thief-taking. Of basic importance in the achievement of the police program is the application of methods of organization which have been found useful elsewhere.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 12.

PART TWO
DEPARTMENTAL MANAGEMENT

CHAPTER V

THE CHIEF OF POLICE

As the executive head of the police department the chief of police is responsible for the administration of one of the most important municipal functions. This departmental manager must turn his attention now to important matters of internal administrative policy and procedure and now outside to his superior, and to a public which is occasionally provoked by some action of the local constabulary. Forces of complex character and varying intensity swirl around and focus upon this individual. With a description and analysis of these forces this treatment is not concerned. Rather, there are these points to be considered: How is the chief selected? What type of person is found in this important position? What is the nature of his duties? What aids are at hand to assist him in his role as executive?

THE CHIEF AS AN INDIVIDUAL

Texas cities employ two methods of selection in filling the post of chief of police. The first of these is appointment by one of several methods and the second is popular election. In general law cities which have chosen to operate under the mayor-aldermanic form of municipal government, the chief law enforcement officer is known as the city marshal and is selected by popular vote for a two-year term.¹ General law cities operating under the commission form of government may provide for the appointment of a city marshal or chief of police by the city council.² Authority is granted general law cities under 3,000 population to abolish by ordinance the office of city marshal and confer its duties on a county peace officer, who ordinarily is either the constable of the precinct in which the city is located or a deputy sheriff attached to the office of the county sheriff. This plan has been followed in many of the smaller cities by the simple expedient of failing to

¹*Revised Civil Statutes*, Arts. 977-999.

²*Ibid.*, Art. 1161.

provide a salary for the office of city marshal. Home rule cities may provide for the selection of the chief of police by popular election or by appointment, as specified in the charter.³

Method of Selection

With this statutory background in mind a review may be made of the methods of selecting the police executive in Texas cities. Of a total of 286 cities supplying information, 59.4 per cent select by appointment. A closer observation of Table IX reveals a

TABLE IX

METHOD OF SELECTION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE IN 286 CITIES, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Group	Total Cities Reporting	Selection by Appointment	Per Cent Appointed
100,000 and over	5	5	100.0
40,000-100,000	9	8	88.9
10,000-40,000	23	17	73.9
3,500-10,000	42	28	66.7
1,000-3,500	124	79	63.7
Below 1,000	83	33	39.8
Total	286	170	59.4

definite tendency toward selection by appointment in the cities in the higher population ranges. By employing the population level of 10,000 as a dividing point it is found that 81.1 per cent of the chiefs in the cities above this level are appointed, while only 56.2 per cent of those in the lower group are so selected.⁴ It should be noted, however, that of the six population groups only one, namely that including cities under 1,000, selects the chief of police

³*Ibid.*, Art. 1165.

The title of "city marshal" is employed only in those cities below 5,000 population. Since the offices of city marshal and chief of police as used in the Texas statutes are synonymous, the procedure here will be to use the term "chief of police" to apply in all cities, irrespective of the title employed by any individual city.

⁴A survey of the methods of selecting chiefs of police in 1934 revealed that only 3 of the 310 cities over 30,000 population in the United States selected by popular vote. One of these three was a Texas city. *The Municipal Year-book, 1934* (International City Managers' Association), 135.

TABLE X
METHOD OF SELECTION OF APPOINTIVE CHIEFS OF POLICE IN 165 CITIES, BY APPOINTIVE AUTHORITY, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Group	Council		Mayor and Council		Mayor		Manager		Other		Total Cities Reporting	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
100,000 and over	---	---	---	---	2	40.0	2	40.0	1	20.0	5	100.0
40,000-100,000	---	---	---	---	---	---	6	75.0	2	25.0	8	100.0
10,000-40,000	6	37.5	3	18.7	1	6.3	4	25.0	2	12.5	16	100.0
3,500-10,000	15	57.6	4	15.4	3	11.6	4	15.4	---	---	26	100.0
1,000-3,500	56	70.0	15	18.7	8	10.0	1	1.3	---	---	80	100.0
Below 1,000	14	46.6	4	13.4	10	33.3	---	---	2	6.7	30	100.0
Total	91	55.1	26	15.8	24	14.5	17	10.3	7	4.3	165	100.0

generally by popular vote. In the other population ranges two-thirds or more of the cities have discarded popular election as a device of selection. The practice of selecting by popular vote in the lower population groups may be expected in view of the statutory requirement. It is clear, therefore, that the tendency in Texas is to remove the chief of police from the roll of popularly elected municipal officials.

In selecting the appointive chiefs various methods are employed, as revealed in Table X. Of a total of 165 cities, 55.1 per cent place the appointing power in the hands of the city council. Others playing a prominent role in the selective process are the mayor, mayor and council, and manager. In cities where the mayor and council form the appointing authority, the general practice is to provide for appointment by the mayor and confirmation by the council. In three of the cities over 40,000 population employing the commission form of government the chief is selected by the commissioner of fire and police. From these data it is seen that the council plays a dominant role in the selection of the chief of police, particularly in those cities below 10,000 population. Again employing the population figure of 10,000 as a dividing point it is found that 79.3 per cent of the appointed chiefs in the cities below this figure are selected directly by the council. A contrary trend is noted in the cities above this population level; the manager selects in 41.4 per cent of the cities and the mayor in 10.2 per cent. The tendency toward placing the responsibility for selection in the hands of a mayor or manager in the larger cities denotes an increasing appreciation of the need for locating this important duty in the hands of the municipal executive. The ordinary practice in council-manager cities is to permit the city manager to select the chief of police without confirmation by the council.

Age

Turning now to a study of the chiefs of police who were in office in 1937, a matter of first importance is that of age. Information on this subject, including both elective and appointive officers, is presented in Table XI, which shows the age ranges and the average age of the police executives in each population group.

TABLE XI
RANGE OF CHIEFS OF POLICE IN 211 CITIES, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Group	Total Cities Reporting	AGE RANGE										Average Age
		21-30		31-40		41-50		51-60		Over 60		
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
100,000 and over	5	100.0										50.0
40,000-100,000	9	100.0	1	11.1	1	11.1	4	44.4	3	33.4		45.4
10,000-40,000	16	100.0			3	18.7	4	25.0	7	43.8	2	12.5
3,500-10,000	28	100.0	3	10.7	5	17.8	11	39.3	4	14.3	5	17.9
1,000-3,500	98	100.0	6	6.1	13	13.2	21	21.5	38	38.7	20	20.5
Below 1,000	55	100.0	2	3.6	12	21.8	12	21.8	12	21.8	17	31.0
Total	211	100.0	12	5.6	34	16.2	54	25.5	67	31.8	44	20.9

Considering the chiefs as a group, it is noted that almost three-fifths are between the ages of forty-one and sixty and that almost three-fourths fall between thirty-one and sixty. While only 5.6 per cent of the chiefs are found in the lowest age range, twenty-one to thirty, almost 21 per cent are found to be above sixty. This reveals a general tendency to place municipal police leadership in the hands of men well past the prime of life, particularly in the smaller cities. If the cities over 10,000 population are considered separately, only 6.7 per cent are found to be over sixty. In the fourteen largest cities in the state no chief has attained this age. The average age for each population group approximates fifty, with the lowest age being found in cities between 40,000 and 100,000 population. The average age of the 211 chiefs is approximately fifty years.

Length of Service

Another important consideration relates to the chief's service as a police officer. This raises the question, What has been the length of service of the police executive in subordinate positions within the department? From this an answer may be made to the inquiry whether chiefs of police are selected from within or without departmental ranks. Considering the incumbent chiefs of police it is found (from Table XII) that of a total of 243 police departments only 63, or 26.3 per cent, are headed by individuals who have served in the department prior to assuming their present

TABLE XII

YEARS OF SERVICE OF INCUMBENT CHIEFS OF POLICE IN SUBORDINATE POSITIONS WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT IN 240 CITIES, 1937

Population Group	Total Cities Reporting	Total Serving in Subordinate Position	Per Cent Serving in Subordinate Position	Average Length of Service in Years in Subordinate Position
100,000 and over.....	5	4	80.0	10.0
40,000-100,000	9	9	100.0	7.5
10,000-40,000	18	10	55.6	9.4
3,500-10,000	27	11	40.7	6.3
1,000-3,500	116	23	19.8	3.7
Below 1,000	68	6	8.8	6.0
Total	243	63	26.3	6.2

position. This low percentage, however, is explained by the situation in the smaller cities, which for the most part fill this office by popular vote. On dividing the cities into those above and those below 10,000 population, it is found that 71.9 per cent of those above this level have selected police executives employed previously in the police department in a lower rank. Only one of the fourteen cities over 40,000 population has a chief of police without previous departmental experience. In view of the previous findings that the prevailing method of selection in the larger cities is appointment, it may be concluded that the ordinary procedure in these municipalities is to elevate a subordinate member of the department to the position of chief rather than to fill the vacancy by selection from the outside.

The longest average length of service for the police executive is found in the largest population group, which includes the five major police departments. If the age requirement for entrance into police ranks is kept at a sufficiently low level in the larger cities, it may be predicted that the chiefs of police will continue to be found in the age groups below fifty years. It is possible for an individual to rise rapidly through the various ranks of the department to the position of chief, although this is assignable in large part to the prevailing impermanence of tenure. From a study of Table XIII it appears that the chances for survival are small once appointment to the post of chief is secured. Of a total of 270 chiefs of police, almost half (48.1 per cent) have served two years or less in their present positions. In the cities over 40,000 population, 50 per cent have been in office for two years or less. Relatively few chiefs, only thirty-four or 12.6 per cent of the total, have served over ten years, and these are confined to the cities below 40,000 population. The lowest average tenure of the chief of police is found in the largest population group, which is considerably below that found in the smaller cities despite the employment of popular election in approximately two-thirds of the cities in the latter group.⁵ A higher average tenure is found

⁵The average tenure in the five cities above 100,000 population would be considerably lower if it were not for the lengthy service of one chief. Only one chief in this group was appointed prior to 1935.

TABLE XIII
TENURE OF INCUMBENT CHIEFS OF POLICE IN 270 CITIES, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Group	Total Cities Reporting	TENURE RANGE												Average Tenure	
		2 Years or Less		3-4 Years		5-6 Years		7-8 Years		9-10 Years		Over 10 Years			
	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	
100,000 and over	5	100.0	4	80.0	1	11.1	1	11.1	2	22.2	1	20.0	---	---	2.8
40,000-100,000	9	100.0	3	33.3	1	11.1	1	11.1	2	22.2	2	22.3	---	---	5.1
10,000-40,000	22	100.0	8	36.3	4	18.2	2	9.1	2	9.1	2	9.1	4	18.2	5.6
3,500-10,000	40	100.0	20	50.0	4	10.0	2	5.0	8	20.0	3	7.5	3	7.5	5.7
1,000-3,500	122	100.0	58	47.5	23	18.8	9	7.4	9	7.4	7	5.7	16	13.2	4.8
Below 1,000	72	100.0	37	51.3	12	16.7	6	8.3	2	2.8	4	5.6	11	15.3	4.7
Total	270	100.0	130	48.1	44	16.3	20	7.4	23	8.5	19	7.1	34	12.6	4.9

in the population group of 40,000 to 100,000, but even here the average length of service is low. That the limited tenure in the larger cities is not due to advanced age has been shown previously.

Inasmuch as many of the ills of police administration are attributed to impermanence of tenure of the police executive, a study was made of the number of individuals occupying this office in 212 cities over a twenty-year period ending in 1937. The average tenure of the chief of police during this period by population groups was: cities over 100,000, 2.9 years; 40,000 to 100,000, 3.5 years; 10,000 to 40,000, 5.5 years; 3,500 to 10,000, 4.2 years; 1,000 to 3,500, 4.2 years; and under 1,000, 4.5 years. The general average tenure for all cities was 4.4 years. Comparison of these figures with those in Table XIII shows little improvement in recent years and leads to the conclusion that as yet no general tendency toward an increased tenure for police chiefs is to be found in Texas cities.

Comparisons of the tenure of Texas chiefs of police with those throughout the nation indicate no significant differences. For example, a study made in 1931 of 560 cities over 10,000 population showed the average tenure to be 4.28 years;⁶ a similar tabulation for Texas cities over 10,000 population reveals a tenure of 4.38 years. The average tenure of Texas chiefs of police seems to be in general that prevalent throughout the nation. Although the national study made in 1931 employed different population groupings, the ranges are sufficiently similar to those used in the present calculations to reveal that in both instances the average tenure is shorter in the larger than in the smaller cities. This point is of considerable significance, particularly in view of the tendency toward specialization and the increased demand for police services encountered in the larger police departments.

Previous Experience

Many Texas chiefs have had experience as law enforcement officers with other political units before entering the municipal police service. On the basis of the figures given in Table XIV, 43.3 per cent of 286 police executives have served some other police agency, in most instances that of the county. Service with the

⁶National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on Police* (1931), 51.

TABLE XIV

SERVICE WITH OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES OF INCUMBENT CHIEFS OF POLICE IN 286 CITIES, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

P o p u l a t i o n G r o u p	Total Cities		A G E N C Y S E R V E D						Per Cent Serving Other Agencies	No Service with Other Agency		
	Num- ber	Per Cent	County		City		State					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Others* Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
100,000 and over.....	5	100.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	2	40.0	3	60.0
40,000-100,000	9	100.0	1	11.1	2	22.2	---	---	---	---	6	66.7
10,000-40,000	23	100.0	8	34.8	1	4.3	---	---	---	---	13	56.6
3,500-10,000	42	100.0	11	26.2	1	2.4	2	4.7	1	4.3	22	52.4
1,000-3,500	124	100.0	36	29.0	3	2.4	2	1.6	6	14.3	71	57.3
Below 1,000	83	100.0	31	37.4	2	2.4	1	1.2	12	9.7	47	56.6
Total	286	100.0	87	30.4	9	3.1	5	1.7	23	8.1	162	56.7

*Included in this column are all who have served with private police organizations, with a national police organization, and with any combination of two or more organizations. Thus the figures for the county, city, and state columns are low, as many who have served in these organizations are shown in the column marked "Others," because of the fact that they served more than one unit.

county ordinarily involves occupancy of the office of deputy sheriff or constable, since it is not at all uncommon for a person formerly selected as constable in the precinct in which the smaller city is located to be appointed later as chief of police. Few chiefs have served with other cities or with the state police. Rarely do Texas cities go outside their own limits to find a chief of police; only nine have done so in recent years. It should be noted, with regard to the large number serving previously with the county, that no training is required for appointment or election to the post of deputy sheriff or constable and that these offices with few exceptions are not sufficiently remunerative to attract capable occupants.

Compensation and Non-Police Duties

A further indication of the importance attached to the position of chief of police may be gained by a study of the ranges of compensation found in the various cities (Table XV). Of a total of 254 cities, 12.5 per cent either receive no salary or are paid by fees only. The largest salary in the cities below 40,000 does not exceed \$2,500. With two exceptions cities below 10,000 pay salaries which do not exceed \$2,000; the top limit in the cities under 1,000 is \$1,500. The average salaries received by the chiefs in each population group show a range from \$4,238 to \$494, the general average being \$1,122. In the five cities over 100,000 population the compensations range from \$5,000 in Dallas to \$3,600 in El Paso. Six of the nine cities in the 40,000 to 100,000 population group pay salaries exceeding \$2,500, these ranging from \$3,840 in Port Arthur to \$2,520 in Corpus Christi. In the higher population groups some increase has occurred in the average compensation of police chiefs since 1936. Comparing the 1937 figures with those developed in a study made in 1935, it is found that the average salaries in the cities over 100,000 population have been raised from \$3,236 to \$4,238 and in the 40,000 to 100,000 group from \$2,790 to \$2,906. Despite these increased salaries, however, the impermanent tenure continues to make the top position unattractive to the most capable of the police personnel.

Although complete information as to the salaries paid police chiefs throughout the United States in 1937 is not available, a basis for comparison may be found in a recent study of salaries in certain

TABLE XV
COMPENSATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE IN 254 CITIES, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Group	Total Cities Reporting			No Salary or Payment by Fees			\$1,000 and Under			\$1,001-\$1,500			\$1,501-\$2,000			\$2,001-\$2,500			Over \$2,500			Average Salary
	Num-ber	Per Cent	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Per Cent	
100,000 and over	5	100.0																	5	100.0		\$4,238
40,000-100,000	9	100.0																	6	66.7		2,906
10,000-40,000	20	100.0																				1,902
3,500-10,000	38	100.0																				1,472
1,000-3,500	114	100.0		9	7.8		3	7.9		2	10.0		10	50.0		8	40.0					911*
Below 1,000	68	100.0		23	33.8		36	52.9		9	13.3					1	0.9					494*
Total	254	100.0		32	12.5		100	39.4		71	28.0		27	10.6		13	5.1		11	4.4		1,122*

*The average salary in these population groups is based on those receiving stated salaries.

police departments outside Texas in 1937.⁷ This study covered forty-four cities divided into five geographical groups and ranging in population from 65,000 to 400,000. The range of salaries paid to police chiefs in these five groups was from \$3,553 to \$4,880; the average salary was \$4,238. This group of cities is roughly comparable in size to the five Texas cities over 100,000 population, and interestingly enough the average salary paid in the two groups is the same. It may be concluded, therefore, that the salaries paid in the largest Texas cities are generally on the same level as those paid in cities of a similar size throughout the nation.

The chief of police in the smaller cities often is given duties other than those of law enforcement. Out of a total of 286 chiefs, 88 are found who either have been given additional municipal duties to perform or have found it necessary to engage in private work to supplement the amounts paid by the city. Of these eighty-eight cities, eighty-one are found in the two population groups below 3,500. The chiefs in twenty-three of these eighty-one cities engage in private business, while the remainder perform various other municipal duties, the most common being that of assessing and collecting taxes. This practice of using the chief of police in the smaller cities on a part-time basis further suggests the inadequacy of police protection in these units and the financial inability of small cities to support a full-time police program.

Professional Interests

A final point of inquiry concerns the professional interests of the chief of police as evidenced by membership in police associations. A 1937 study of the membership of chiefs of police in two state organizations (City Marshals and Chiefs of Police Union of Texas and the Texas Sheriff's Association) and one national association (International Association of Chiefs of Police) shows 65 membership out of a total of 286 cities. Of these sixty-five members, fifty-five are in the City Marshals and Chiefs of Police Union, six in the Texas Sheriff's Association, and four in the International Association of Chiefs of Police. A further study of the attendance of Texas municipal police officers at the annual convention of the

⁷This information was furnished through the courtesy of Mr. H. H. Whitehead, City Statistician, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

IACP in 1936 shows a total attendance of four, of which only one was a chief of police. Such a small membership in the national organization is indicative of the general lack of interest in police advancement.

A composite characterization of the Texas chief of police is difficult because of the extreme population ranges included. In general it may be said, however, that in most instances the chief is an appointive official, ordinarily selected by the council or mayor; he is approximately fifty years of age; in the larger cities he served for some years in a subordinate capacity prior to assuming the position of chief; his tenure is less than four years; and his compensation, except in the largest cities, is below \$2,000. In cities above 40,000 population where specialization in police activities is found, the practice of selecting the police executive from the ranks of the department is followed ordinarily by an uncertain and brief tenure dependent on the vagaries of politics. Little comfort is found for those who look to the creation of a professional class of police executives who may be called for service in different cities, as are, for example, city managers and public school administrators. The selection area of police leadership in Texas continues to be confined to municipal limits.

THE CHIEF AS AN EXECUTIVE

As the size of the police department increases the strictly police duties of the executive tend to be supplanted in large part by those relating to general administration. In the largest departments the chief is primarily a manager and cannot afford to be concerned with any but the most serious cases which may affect administrative policy. Administration does not operate in a vacuum, however, and it is necessary to note briefly the present conception of the office of chief of police from the viewpoint of municipal politics. The police department continues as a center of political attack, and ordinarily a shift in the balance of political power or a change in the complexion of the city council results in the dismissal or demotion of the chief.⁸ To a degree perhaps unequalled

⁸From 1935 to the early part of 1938 the political complexion of the city council changed in seven of the fourteen cities over 40,000 population. In

in the instance of other municipal departments, the chief of police is subject to various pressures and requests for favors from those wielding political power in the community. Whatever the reasons for such activities, they combine to affect vitally the policies of the executive, and few communities have succeeded in developing a tradition of non-interference in police matters.⁹

Another practice which has vitally affected the general attitude toward the chief of police is the emphasis placed on police experience as a prerequisite to appointment. While it may be granted that experience in the ranks as a subordinate officer should ordinarily be a requirement, it is submitted that something more is required.¹⁰ The duties of the office are in part administrative and require something more for their successful execution than adeptness in handling criminals or detecting crime. The practice of ignoring the administrative aspects of the position of police executive is widespread and well-known but its implications deserve emphasis. In what other large municipal department would the executive head be selected from the lowest classification? Yet patrolmen have been

every instance this was followed by the removal or demotion of the chief of police.

⁹For accounts of the various types of pressures to which police executives are subject, see Citizens' Police Committee, *Chicago Police Problems* (Chicago, 1931), 29-34; August Vollmer, "Behind the Scenes at Headquarters," *Police "13-13"*, XI (April, 1937), 7-10, 12, 26; and O. W. Hoop, "A Professor in Politics," *Southwest Review*, XXII (Winter, 1937), 180-89. Additional discussions of the office of chief of police may be found in Raymond B. Fosdick, *American Police Systems* (New York, 1920), Chap. VII, and "Police Administration," in Cleveland Foundation, *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1922), 12-16; L. F. Fuld, *Police Administration* (New York, 1910), 30-48; and National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *op. cit.*, 17-52.

¹⁰Bruce Smith, "A Municipal Program for Combating Crime," *American City*, XXXVIII (January, 1928), 100-02.

English experience, as represented by the proposals of one Royal Commission, is that "Long experience and good service in the lower ranks are not the only, nor even the most important, qualifications for the higher posts. It would be inimical to the public interest to limit appointments to the higher posts to those who had entered the Police as constables. Such posts should be filled by the best men available, irrespective of the source whence they are drawn." *Report of the Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure* (Cmd. 3297, London, 1929), 114.

chosen for the post of chief of police in Texas cities of considerable size without hesitation. It is simply a continuation of the traditional attitude of viewing every able-bodied individual as capable of assuming forthwith the duties of a police officer. Because of this practice many police executives are little aware of the revolutionary character of certain innovations in police administration of recent years. Few chiefs are found who keep abreast of new developments and who therefore are capable of "educating" their managers, mayors, and council members. It is against this conceptual background that the following discussion of the administrative character of the chief's duties must be fixed.

Duties

Since specialization in police administration increases as the department becomes larger, it is evident that different types of duties confront police executives in small and in large cities. It will assist in considering these duties if those assigned to the chiefs of police in large and in small cities are considered separately.

The general duties of the chief of police in a large city have been enumerated in some detail by several authorities. They may be said to consist of:

1. The preparation of rules and regulations for the police department and their revision from time to time.
2. The initiation of inquiries concerning the efficiency of operation of the police department.
3. The investigation of any charges concerning inadequacies of any branch of the police organization.
4. The development of departmental standards for entrance into the police department, except in cities having formal merit systems.
5. The establishment of departmental standards for the training of employees.
6. The installation of the system of promotion designed to secure the right men for advanced positions.
7. The maintenance of rigid discipline throughout the entire department.
8. The preparation of an organization chart showing the lines of authority and the functions of the various members and divisions of the department.
9. The preparation of forms for monthly and annual reports following those established by the Crime Records Committee of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

10. The institution of careful studies looking to the elimination of any obstacle which is hindering the effective functioning of the department.

11. The establishment of definite policies with reference to the attitude of the department toward the public, other officials, individuals, newspapers, etc.

12. The conduct of surveys of all physical equipment belonging to the department.¹¹

These duties might well apply in small cities, though the limited personnel of the police department here makes necessary a more intimate contact with the routine activities of the department by the chief. In a recent personnel survey of a city of approximately 12,000 population, these duties of the police chief were noted:

Reviewing acts and reports of subordinate officers; submission of daily reports to the manager or mayor; making personal inspections of police beats; handling incoming correspondence; inspection of the records system maintained by subordinate officers; assumption when necessary of immediate responsibility for the investigation of major criminal acts; analysis of criminal and police conditions and the planning of a crime prevention program; conferring with other agencies, public and private, on law enforcement problems; meeting the public; aiding in the planning of public campaigns for traffic safety and crime prevention; preparing an annual report of department activities; selecting members of the police force; handling all police personnel matters such as selection, promotion, discipline, and discharge; preparing monthly schedules of police beats and other assignments; maintaining contacts with other police departments and with professional organizations of police officials.¹²

A consideration of the duties of the chief of police in both large and small cities reveals many which are not directly concerned with the regular police routine and partake more of the nature of managerial duties common to all municipal departments. The chief must be concerned with obtaining an over-all view of the operation of the department and with selecting personnel, planning the police program, maintaining public relations, and other related

¹¹This enumeration of duties is based on those found in the Wichita Police Department's *Duty Manual* (1935), 12-13, and August Vollmer, *Survey of the Minneapolis Police Department* (1930), 55-56.

¹²International Association of Chiefs of Police, *Police Chiefs' News Letter*, IV (January, 1937), 2. See also Public Administration Service, *Survey of the Police Department of Greenwich, Connecticut* (1937), 121.

matters, rather than with the actual investigation of a particular offense. To be sure, the chief of police in the small city will find it necessary on occasion to perform actual police duties. The amount of time so spent must be cut to a minimum, however, for the inevitable result is inattention to the broader aspects of police administration. It is true in public as in private management that insofar as possible an executive should be relieved of the performance of routine activities.¹³

In addition to duties which relate directly to the police function, the police executive as the departmental manager is made responsible for the performance of certain activities more or less common to department heads throughout the municipal administration. Paramount are those which relate to finance. As the departmental budget officer the chief of police supervises the compilation of the police budget and pleads the cause of the department before the mayor or manager. Although a major portion of the police expenditures consist of salaries and are therefore fixed, it is true that in the execution of the budget the chief has an opportunity to exercise a judicious control over the amounts apportioned for maintenance. The increasing motorization of the police and the beginnings here and there of experiments in police science have tended to increase the amounts spent for equipment and maintenance. In the domain of office management the police executive may well be relieved of much detail if provision is made for a systematic movement of correspondence and of orders, reports, bulletins, and publications. These and related duties are the proper concern of the departmental secretary except where they have been combined under the record division. In Texas cities it is customary in the larger departments for the departmental secretary to be directly responsible to the chief. Since the chief is in constant need of secretarial assistance there is no duplication provided all correspondence is available in the files of the record division. Too often the abilities required in general departmental management,

¹³The tendency for chiefs of police to remain policemen at heart is revealed by the active interest they take in particular cases confronting the department. In some of the largest Texas departments the chief takes active control of particular investigations, even though capable subordinates are at hand.

as distinguished from those directly useful in one of the branches of police activity, are ignored or overlooked in selecting police executives.

Qualifications

At this point the question arises, What qualifications should be set up for the post of chief of police? For purposes of discussion these may be divided into tangible and intangible qualifications. Tangible qualifications are those relating to age, education, experience, and physical requirements. Although it is doubtful if a maximum age should be fixed for the post, it is nevertheless true that the person appointed to this office ought to be young enough to look forward to a number of years of active service. If the office is reserved for those who have come up through the ranks in a methodical fashion over a long period, it too often happens that the officer is past the prime of life and can be expected to be no more than a routine official. In view of the increasing complexity of police science and administration, the minimum education should be at least a high school education and preferably college training. The practice in Texas police departments and elsewhere is to require that the appointee have had some police experience, ordinarily in a subordinate capacity within the department. It is necessary that the health of the appointee be such as to permit him to give undivided attention to police matters. For this reason it is well to require the chief to fulfill the departmental requirements for entrance into the service, with some variations being permitted on account of age.

The tangible qualifications outlined above are fairly definite and may be applied in an objective manner. The subjective element enters when one comes to the intangible qualifications. It may be stated that the police chief should possess intelligence and emotional stability.¹⁴ He should possess a high sense of honor and have courage to pursue his objectives regardless of opposition. He should be willing and able to accept responsibility and to delegate this responsibility in turn to subordinate officials, holding them strictly

¹⁴For many of the points mentioned in this discussion the writer is indebted to Mr. O. W. Wilson, Chief of Police, Wichita, Kansas.

to account for their performance.¹⁵ He must have the ability to plan, to organize, and to coördinate the activities of the police department.¹⁶ He must be adept in his relationships with his superiors, with other law enforcement agencies, and with the public. If he has sole responsibility for the recruitment and promotion of personnel he must be a good judge of men, and in those instances where this authority is exercised by an independent civil service commission he must be careful to see that the department obtains the best men that the procedure will supply. Underlying all these requirements there must be a fundamental knowledge of police problems and procedure which can be gained only by experience in an executive capacity and through studies of police literature. There must be a clear realization of the place and importance of the auxiliary services of the police organization.

The nature of police work and the unification of a large number of individuals in one organization on a semimilitary basis makes it necessary that the chief possess the qualities of leadership. As a leader he must serve as a model for his subordinates and stimulate them to the utmost in productivity. Virile leadership can set a high tone for a police department and bring about a strengthening of the entire department, even in those instances where individuals have long been immersed in routine matters. It is coming to be believed that leadership possesses its own techniques in addition to those

¹⁵The inability of some chiefs to follow this practice was brought home to the writer on the occasion of a visit in the home of a police executive commanding a personnel of more than 200. During the entire visit the official was continually being called to the telephone by his subordinates for decisions on matters of police routine, and by citizens. He confessed that the number of calls sometimes reached as many as thirty or forty an hour and that he had found it necessary to buy a residence outside the city for use as a retreat when rest became imperative. On a similar occasion in a different city the chief did not receive a single call, and inquiry revealed that special instructions were given to his subordinates, who handled all matters arising from five in the afternoon until the following morning unless they were of a grave character.

¹⁶No instances were found in Texas cities of the use of staff meetings of ranking members of the department as a device to secure coördination. For an account of the practice in one city which has found the staff meeting useful, see Providence Governmental Research Bureau, *Survey and Report on the Providence Police Department* (1933), 18-19.

acquired from special knowledge.¹⁷ One of the definite and primary qualifications, then, is that the chief be able to exercise these qualities.¹⁸

The Problem of Tenure

An elaborate selective procedure is of no avail, however, unless reasonable tenure is assured. In the six cities in Texas with formal merit systems only two, San Antonio and El Paso, place the chief of police in the classified service under the jurisdiction of the civil service commission. In San Antonio it is required that promotions to the position of chief of police be made from the next lowest rank of captain; the El Paso Civil Service Commission holds an examination and presents a list of eligibles to the mayor and council for appointment. In the four remaining cities with formal merit systems the chief is exempted from civil service jurisdiction and the general practice is to select persons from the ranks, although some exceptions have occurred. The prevailing practice in cities over 10,000 population is to appoint from within the department, but no formal limitations as to the area of appointment are found.

¹⁷Ordway Tead, *The Art of Leadership* (New York, 1935), 116-17.

¹⁸In a recent survey of the Greenwich, Connecticut, Police Department the following suggestive list of "specialized knowledges, abilities, and skills" required of candidates for the office of police chief was given: "Social and general intelligence; a high degree of leadership; tact; good character; medical and physical fitness; ability to treat the public with courtesy and, when the occasion demands, with firmness; ability to organize the department for the effective performance of its functions; ability to plan and maintain a steady flow of work through the department; ability to delegate details to subordinate officers yet supervise and control their operations; ability to secure and hold their confidence; ability to coördinate the work of all divisions of the department; ability to secure the confidence of the public in the fairness and effectiveness of performance of police functions; fundamental knowledge of police problems and procedures; familiarity with current developments in police science and administration; acquaintance with basic literature in the field of police administration; ability to maintain coöperative relations with other town departments; ability to issue intelligible directions and orders and secure their execution; ability to exercise good judgment in matters pertaining to the personnel of the department." Public Administration Service, *op. cit.*, 122.

The problems connected with the appointment of department heads are well known and apply throughout the municipal administration. The chief executive, be he mayor or manager, desires to select department heads without hindrance from any other agency, for he feels that his responsibility for the general municipal administration makes it imperative that the department head enjoy his full confidence. Examinations as the sole basis for the selection of police executives are held to be inadequate in that they fail to measure the administrative abilities of the applicant. If selection is limited to the next lowest rank, it is not uncommon to find that no one is suited for the position and the result often is that the incumbent is continued long beyond the normal age of retirement.

Several devices have been employed in other states to secure indefinite tenure for the chief. Appointment by the governor is followed in a few instances with favorable results in at least one city.¹⁹ The chief of police may be placed under the jurisdiction of a civil service commission with provision for removal or demotion only after formal charges and then only with the approval of the personnel agency.²⁰ These efforts have the laudable goal of endeavoring to effect the removal of the police department from the arena of partisan politics. Nevertheless they operate to set the police department apart from other units of municipal administration, which is contrary to the general movement toward an integrated control in the hands of the mayor or manager.²¹ Police administration as such cannot be isolated from the general framework of city management. The tone of municipal administration will determine the type of police administration which a particular city enjoys. To set up artificial barriers to protect the police department is to attack one segment of a problem which must be considered as a whole. In those instances where one of these devices

¹⁹See Leonard V. Harrison, *Police Administration in Boston* (Cambridge, 1934), 22.

²⁰Portland Police Survey Commission, *Survey of the Bureau of Police of Portland, Oregon* (1934), 16.

²¹Leonard D. White, *Trends in Public Administration* (New York, 1933), 210-23.

has been employed the results have not been uniformly encouraging.²² A factor which may influence tenure in the future is the increasingly technical character of police administration. Recent developments, including the adaptation of scientific aids in criminal investigation, the realization of the need for police training, the beginnings of efforts at measurement of police activities, the assembling of criminal statistics nationally—all these have operated to build an organization which cannot be tinkered with in reckless fashion.

It is not too much to say that the advancement of municipal police administration awaits the adoption of progressive principles in the selection and removal of the chief of police. To permit this important municipal function to be administered by an amateur or by a person weighed down by tradition and departmental routine is to ignore the major cause of police ineffectiveness. If cities are to continue to select police chiefs from within the ranks, they must give closer attention to recruitment, training, promotion, and other personnel practices designed to select and prepare men who will be fit for eventual appointment. If the technical requirements for the office of chief of police are recognized and definite qualifications come to be established, the advancement of the executive to a higher plane may serve to lessen the practice of frequent changes. This approach to a solution of the problem of executive tenure is more in accord with current trends in administration than the attempt to assign to the chief a preferred position with all the implications which such a procedure possesses for municipal management.

²²El Paso by charter amendment placed most of the department heads under the jurisdiction of the civil service commission in 1935. With the first change in the city council, however, the chief accepted demotion to make way for another appointee.

CHAPTER VI

MEASUREMENT OF POLICE ACTIVITY

Some evidence of the maturity of municipal police administration is found in the attempts of a few police executives to conduct the activities of their departments on the basis of something more than mere impressions and rule-of-thumb decisions. The chief of police is responsible for the selection, distribution, and supervision of personnel and the attainment of the objectives of police administration. Not only is there a lack of standards of measurement for those objectives which have been generally accepted, but in addition no agreement has been reached as to the relative effectiveness of motor and foot patrol, the maintenance of an adequate record system, and other fundamentals which are intimately related to and condition the police process.

A number of difficulties confront those who would introduce the concept of measurement as an aid to the police executive.¹ One of the most common methods has been to compute the cost of the police department on the basis of either a per capita or total amount. Such a computation is insufficient for measurement purposes, however, in that it fails to indicate what was received for the amount expended. Two cities of approximately the same size in area and population may vary widely in per capita costs, since one may have expanded the functions of the police department to embrace activities not included by the other. Further refinement of the measurement process takes into account the effort expended in terms of the number of police man-hours worked. Even when there is exact knowledge of police effort, however, there is a lack of any definite information as to the actual duties performed.

To measure the performance of the police it is necessary to know such facts as the number of beat miles patrolled, the number of radio calls dispatched, and the number of criminals apprehended.

¹The analysis which follows is based on that given in Clarence E. Ridley and Herbert A. Simon, "Technique of Appraising Standards," *Public Management*, XIX (February, 1937), 46-49.

This measure indicates the amount of work done by individual divisions of the department but does not measure the extent to which the activity was sufficient or insufficient for the accomplishment of the desired end. The next step involves the measurement of the result of the work performed in relation to the objectives of the police. Here there arises immediately the question, What are the purposes of police action? The determination of police objectives is primarily a matter for legislative attention. A review of city charters and state statutes indicates, however, that police duties are nowhere definitely prescribed and are aimed generally at a reduction in the amount of crime. Even this general objective does not embrace all police activities, for regulation enters as the primary duty of the traffic division. Whatever may be the results of police work, the final step in measurement leads to a consideration of the efficiency with which a particular task is executed. As applied to measurement of administrative effort, efficiency "is measured by the ratio of the effects actually obtained with the available resources to the maximum effects possible with the available resources."² This concept of efficiency applies directly in any attempt to measure police activities, for demands that the police personnel be augmented are based on the argument that a larger police force will assist in the reduction of crime. In view of the widespread absence of a judicious utilization of the available police manpower, the application of efficiency standards in the conduct of police administration is a matter of fundamental concern to the executive.

If the ultimate purpose of the police is the prevention and reduction of crime, it by no means follows that they are solely accountable for either the increase in or the reduction of the number of criminal offenses. A number of public and private agencies and individuals, including the prosecuting attorney, judges, probation and parole officers, workhouses or farms, court clinics, public welfare departments, recreational agencies, character building organizations, and charitable institutions, expend large sums of money with the eventual purpose of preventing crime and delinquency. Because of this vast array of social agencies it is evident that the police must share the credit for crime reduction and the blame for increased criminal

²*Ibid.*, 48.

activities, but ordinarily there is a proneness to charge the police with full responsibility for the latter and little or none for the former. Criminal activities grow out of a number of sources, and to attempt to measure the results of police effort solely on the basis of the amount of crime is to ignore those social factors which affect directly the number of criminal offenses in a given community. Poverty, housing conditions, racial characteristics, and a host of intangible factors combine in varying numbers to produce criminal action.³

While systematized standards for the appraisal of police activities have been developed in only a few instances, police executives since the development of specialization have attempted to determine what has been and what needs to be done. To be sure, these attempts usually are based on impressionistic observation, but measurement in the sense of apportioning personnel functionally, geographically, and chronologically has been present for some time. The opening pages of the annual reports of police departments abound with requests for additional personnel, the assigned reason usually being an increase in the amount of crime or a comparison with other cities on the basis of the number of policemen per 1,000 population. So far as the police executive is concerned, then, measurement standards need to be devised which to some extent will provide the basis for intelligent decisions based on facts rather than impressions or inadequate indices.

If the development of measuring devices is useful in police administration, direct responsibility for their discovery rests with the executive. In the small city the head of the record division may be able to assist the chief of police in this matter, while in the larger city a deputy commissioner or chief may be assigned to study such methods as have been employed successfully elsewhere and adapt them to local use.⁴ There is also the additional duty of research

³Donald C. Stone, "Can Police Effectiveness be Measured?" *Public Management*, XII (September, 1930), 466-67.

⁴Two recent police surveys recognize the necessity for an assistant to the police executive without assignment to a particular division. In Chicago it was recommended that the deputy commissioner act for the commissioner in the latter's absence and perform the functions of a chief of staff. His duties were to consist of making general inspections, aiding the commissioner in

for the purpose of discovering procedures which may yield standards applicable not only to the local department but elsewhere for purposes of comparison. Research in the past has not been regarded as a police activity, with the result that standards, even of the most elementary character, are almost completely absent. The development of standards does not preclude diversity in police administration, but rather it aims toward the gradual definition of minimum requirements for acceptable police action. It is not without significance that improvements in police organization and the strengthening of the position of the executive have resulted in most instances from surveys and recommendations made from without. This seems to be a common feature in public administration, however, and is not peculiar to the police.⁵

Two points deserve further consideration. These are (1) the nature of criminal offenses, and (2) the record system. In devising a system of reporting criminal offenses which would be uniform

enforcing departmental policies, and coördinating the work of the various bureaus. Citizens' Police Committee, *Chicago Police Problems* (Chicago, 1931), 18-19. In San Francisco a deputy chief was proposed with "no administrative duties but to act as a general assistant to the Chief and to handle such matters as may be assigned by the Chief of Police." San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, "Police Department Survey Report," *The City*, XVII (July 7, 1937), 64.

The newly established division of the London Metropolitan Police under an assistant commissioner is significant as an instance of the inclusion of the research function in the department. The main duties of the division are "to initiate, examine and develop schemes for improving or maintaining the general efficiency of the force. . . . It is a research department and keeps in touch with other forces, services or organizations here or abroad which are handling problems similar to those that confront Scotland Yard and the Metropolitan Police." John Moylan, *Scotland Yard and the Metropolitan Police* (London, 1934), 130-31.

⁵It has been stated that "Routineerism, one of the curses of public management, would not have a stranglehold on many bureaus and departments if research investigations, accompanied by analysis, experimentation, and the setting of standards, had a recognized place among the accepted functions of such units. If governmental agencies constantly scrutinized their work, with the aid of scientific research, there would be no such call for independent research bureaus as there is at the present time." William E. Mosher, "The Development of Work Units in Public Administration," in Public Administration Service, *The Work Unit in Federal Administration* (Chicago, 1937), 4.

throughout the country, the Committee on Uniform Crime Records of the International Association of Chiefs of Police found it necessary to divide these violations into classes denominated as Part I and Part II.⁶ Part I offenses embrace those which ordinarily become a matter of police record and include (1) felonious homicide, (2) rape, (3) robbery, (4) aggravated assault, (5) burglary, (6) larceny-theft, and (7) auto theft.⁷ These violations are recorded as "offenses known to the police," excluding those which investigation proves to be unfounded. Part II offenses include those which are ordinarily less serious in character and which either can be concealed easily from the police or exhibit such extreme variations in statutory definition that no compilation can be uniform.⁸ Despite the fact that the uniform crime report classification constitutes the basis of most police record systems, it is evident that no complete picture is available of the crime situation in a given community. If comprehensive records are established and maintained, an adequate measurement may be made of the extent of the more serious violations covered by Part I offenses, but the number of Part II offenses is limited almost exclusively to persons charged. Measurements of police effectiveness in clearing offenses, therefore, are confined mainly to Part I offenses. Other devices must be employed for Part II offenses.

An effective program of measurement cannot be undertaken without detailed data concerning police action. Not only must the record division be prepared to make the periodical uniform crime report, but in addition it must be able to furnish detailed statistical analyses of such police activities as are capable of being reduced to figures. For example, an attempt to distribute patrol personnel on the sole basis of the number of arrests made and the number

⁶These offenses will be referred to hereafter as Part I and Part II offenses.

⁷Committee on Uniform Crime Records, International Association of Chiefs of Police, *Uniform Crime Reporting* (New York, 1929), 179.

⁸*Ibid.*, 180-82. Part II offenses include (1) assaults other than aggravated assault, (2) forgery and counterfeiting, (3) embezzlement and fraud, (4) carrying or possessing weapons, (5) sex offenses except rape, (6) offenses against the family and children, (7) violating drug laws, (8) violating liquor laws, (9) gambling, (10) violating traffic and motor vehicle laws, (11) drunkenness, (12) disorderly conduct and vagrancy, and (13) all other offenses.

of offenses would ignore many other duties performed by the patrolman which do not eventuate in direct police action. In this instance daily reports from patrolmen giving complete accounts of their activities on each tour of duty are basic in any program designed to construct beats on a scientific basis. Without adequate and accurate information, therefore, little advance can be effected over the present rule-of-thumb methods employed in police measurement.

Two approaches may be utilized by the police executive in attempting the measurement of police activities. One of these involves an appraisal of administrative methods and techniques, the absence or presence of which will be reflected in police performance, employed by his department, and their comparison with those found useful elsewhere. The second attempts to establish certain indices which will furnish a measurement of the effectiveness of police methods in a given situation. Particular stress must be placed on the evident fact that these are two types of measurement of police performance. Even when these devices are employed with caution, however, many variables remain which must be recognized and controlled in so far as possible if the measurements are to be useful. No one can say, for example, that a detective division which clears 35 per cent of its burglary offenses by arrest is more effective than one which clears only 25 per cent. Additional factors which must be considered are the amount of property recovered, the total number of burglary offenses, and the percentage of the total personnel which is available for criminal investigation. Useful procedures have been evolved, however, which through application and study may eventually permit police management to act on a more scientific basis than has been possible heretofore.

ADMINISTRATIVE STANDARDS

The lack of a standardized police terminology serves at the outset to impede the establishing of administrative standards. A study of annual reports reveals a wide variation in the titles assigned to officers performing similar duties. Detectives, for example, may also be detective sergeants and inspectors; in other departments an inspector is the head of a division of the department. The term "patrolman" is universally employed, but assignments of this class of officer may be made to any number of divisions, such as vice,

traffic, etc. Even the police beat, which is the basic geographical unit for the distribution of patrol personnel, may be limited to foot patrolmen while motorized officers may be assigned to a district. While these variations may have no particular effect on the administration of a department, nevertheless they serve as serious handicaps to those who would attempt comparisons among several departments.

A further difficulty involved in evaluating police administrative standards is the diversity which is found with regard to even the most basic of police activities. A comprehensive review of the present lack of standardization in police administration was given by the Committee on Scientific Standards in Police Service of the International Association of Chiefs of Police at the 1936 convention.⁹ Without attempting a detailed study of all police activities, the committee pointed out the absence of scientific standards which can be utilized by police executives and lamented the lack of scientific research and study of police activities. It pointed out the absence of personnel standards with regard to qualifications, selection area, examinations, training, and other essentials of personnel administration; of formulas for determining the size of the force and its distribution; of standard police manuals, including rules and regulations; and of housing and equipment standards. As regards the remaining police activities, it confessed that "the task was too great, and the field too large for your small committee to go into the development of standards in the remaining police fields."¹⁰

As evidences of the potentialities in this field the Scientific Standards Committee pointed out the results accruing from the efforts of two committees which procured the establishment of the fingerprint collection in the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the system of uniform crime reporting. In exploring the possibilities of a program for the future, the committee noted that the membership of the Association comprised a large number of police administrators who had attained proficiency in specialized lines of

⁹John A. Greening, "Report of Committee on Scientific Standards in Police Service," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1936-37* (1937), 57-75.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 72.

police activity. In an endeavor to take advantage of this ability and experience the committee suggested the appointment of a coördination committee, which would be composed of at least one individual experienced in each phase of police administration, for purposes of further exploration. While the report of the committee was only an exploratory excursion into the uncharted field of scientific standards in police administration, it evidences some of the possibilities which may be expected from future research.

The Rating Scale

One of the most ambitious attempts to appraise an entire police department is found in a police service rating scale which was proposed recently.¹¹ Pointing out the rating techniques employed in educational administration, fire administration, and elsewhere, the author sets up a detailed scale with a large number of items to which are assigned a total value of 1,370 points. The main divisions of the scale relate to the selection and retention of the chief of police, personnel, records, identification, communication, transportation, beat construction, traffic, criminal investigation, vice, crime prevention, jails, property, departmental organization, and a miscellaneous category. The points selected and the weights assigned are arbitrary and no evidence is submitted to substantiate their claim to the values given. The scale, therefore, does not possess scientific validity.¹² Nevertheless, it does present a number of desirable standards which approximate the practices followed by progressive police executives. For that reason it is useful not as a definite measurement of any particular department but as a reminder to police executives of possible methods of improvement.

¹¹Arthur Bellman, "A Police Service Rating Scale," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXVI (May, 1935), 74-114. Suggestions for a rating scale of this type had been made much earlier. See the Report of the Round Table on Municipal Administration of the Second National Conference on the Science of Politics, *American Political Science Review*, XIX (February, 1925), 149-55.

¹²Spencer D. Parratt, "A Critique of the Bellman Police Service Rating Scale," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXVII (March-April, 1937), 895-905.

By utilizing the methods employed in constructing the standard Thurstone psychophysical scale, which has been employed extensively in the measurement of attitudes, a scale for the measurement of police effectiveness has been proposed which eliminates some of the arbitrary features of the Bellman scale.¹³ From a number of individuals, statements were obtained relating to such police problems as (1) characteristics of personnel; (2) selection, discipline, training, and equipment; (3) influence of politics; (4) public and press relations and crime prevention; (5) treatment of groups and minorities; (6) treatment of suspects and witnesses; (7) apprehensions and investigations; and (8) vice. These statements were then ranked by persons within and without the police field along a scale of eleven points as to their effectiveness in aiding police work. Those which showed an extreme variation in the scale value assigned (a high index of ambiguity) were discarded. The scale value assigned (index of effectiveness) becomes the value of that particular statement in the completed scale. When applied to a particular department the statements are given to the individual who is asked to mark those which appear to him applicable to the police unit. As can be seen this is primarily a method of obtaining citizen reaction as to the operation of the police department. For this purpose it should at least be useful in isolating points in the administrative program which are causing popular irritation.

Divisional Administrative Standards

Efforts to devise administrative standards may more properly be confined to particular types of police activity. In view of the current confusion as to the methods to be followed by the primary divisions of the police department, it would seem that detailed analyses of one segment of police work certainly might serve as a basis for general evaluation. A list of proposed standards for the criminal investigation division was presented to the 1937 convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.¹⁴ The

¹³Spencer D. Parratt, "A Scale to Measure Effectiveness of Police Functioning," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXVIII (January-February, 1938), 739-56.

¹⁴O. W. Wilson, "Standards for Administration of a Detective Bureau," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1937-38* (1938), 27-34.

following points were proposed as bases for effective criminal investigation: (1) specialization in criminal investigation through the creation of a separate detective division; (2) the integration of the detective division with the remaining primary divisions; (3) personnel and equipment; (4) organization; (5) administration, including assignments, supervision, techniques, and public relations; (6) integration of detective reports with the departmental reporting system; and (7) application of standard measures of effectiveness to the detective division and its individual members. While these are broad divisions and are necessarily subject to expansion and limitation, nevertheless they comprise a starting point for the eventual development of standardized practices in detective administration and indicate factors for consideration in devising standards for the remaining divisions of the police department.

Ratio of Supervisory to Rank and File Positions

Contrary to military practice, there is no definite numerical assignment of personnel to commanding officers within the police unit. This raises the question as to the possibility of devising an acceptable ratio which the supervisory positions should bear to the rank and file of the department.¹⁵ While again extreme variations may be noted among cities, as shown in Table XVI, there does seem to be a definite trend toward an increase in the proportion of supervisory positions as the department grows smaller. The table used here, and other studies as well, indicate a need for a more definite determination of the number of supervisory officers which a department should have, given a definite strength and the ordinary police functions to perform. Here again comparisons among cities cannot be made as yet, but the police executive may discover that ineffective supervision is due in part to the lack of a sufficient number of superior officers. Eventually comparisons between cities may become possible.

¹⁵Supervisory positions as used here include all those involving the supervision of the work of one or more individuals. The rank and file is composed almost wholly of detectives, patrolmen, traffic officers, and clerks.

TABLE XVI

PERSONNEL DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN SUPERVISORY AND RANK AND FILE
POSITIONS IN CITIES OVER 40,000 POPULATION, 1937

Cities	Supervisory Positions		Rank and File Positions		Total	
	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent
100,000 Population and Over:						
Dallas	31	9.7	288	90.3	319	100.0
El Paso	16	17.4	76	82.6	92	100.0
Fort Worth	20	8.8	206	91.2	226	100.0
Houston	30	9.2	296	90.8	326	100.0
San Antonio	21	9.5	199	90.5	220	100.0
Total	118	10.0	1,065	90.0	1,183	100.0
40,000-100,000 Population:						
Amarillo	5	11.4	39	88.6	44	100.0
Austin	9	13.8	56	86.2	65	100.0
Beaumont	9	15.8	48	84.2	57	100.0
Corpus Christi	5	14.7	29	85.3	34	100.0
Galveston	7	9.5	67	90.5	74	100.0
Laredo	6	17.1	29	82.9	35	100.0
Port Arthur	6	27.3	16	72.7	22	100.0
Waco	6	11.1	48	88.9	54	100.0
Wichita Falls	8	18.6	35	81.4	43	100.0
Total	61	14.3	367	85.7	428	100.0

Divisional Expenditures

The utility of expenditures as a method of evaluating administrative methods is limited by the lack of any acceptable unit of police performance which will permit the computation of unit costs.¹⁶ Costs may be determined on the basis of equipment, personnel, and functions. That there is no present agreement as to the proportion of police expenditures which should go for a particular function is illustrated in Table XVII. As one of the most important of the primary functions, it might be expected that the patrol division would expend considerably more than other divisions. Yet in the five cities over 100,000 population, expenditures for patrol range from 56.7 per cent to 32.3 per cent of the total police expenditure. Similar variations are found in the cities from 40,000 to 100,000, with a range from 69.8 to 36.1 per cent. On the other

¹⁶Clarence E. Ridley and Herbert A. Simon, "Measuring Police Activities," *Public Management*, XXIX (May, 1937), 135.

hand, some cities spend much more for traffic regulation than others and a similar variation in expenditures is found in the case of criminal investigation. The fact that Dallas spends almost as much for traffic regulation as for the patrol division does not necessarily indicate a neglect of the latter, though in view of the accepted importance of patrol it is evident that traffic regulation in that city

TABLE XVII

POLICE EXPENDITURES BY PURPOSE IN CITIES OVER 40,000 POPULATION, 1937

Cities	Total Police Expenditures* Amount	Patrol Per Cent of Total Expenditures	Traffic Per Cent of Total Expenditures	Criminal Investigation Per Cent of Total Expenditures	Other Purposes Per Cent of Total Expenditures
100,000 Population and Over:					
Dallas	\$ 628,304	32.3	29.0	13.1	25.6
El Paso	183,429	37.8	20.7	16.2	25.3
Fort Worth	394,005	56.7	17.9	13.3	12.1
Houston	690,382	51.7	11.8	19.2	17.3
San Antonio	424,338	37.3	23.4	18.7	20.6
Total	2,320,458	43.6	20.3	16.2	19.9
40,000-100,000 Population:					
Amarillo	69,195	69.1	14.0	4.8	12.1
Austin	117,089	34.6	25.3	18.8	21.3
Beaumont	104,125	42.5	25.1	12.4	20.0
Corpus Christi	59,732	36.1	31.9	12.3	19.7
Galveston	120,411	68.3	10.3	10.5	10.9
Laredo	46,326	69.8	4.4	6.6	19.2
Port Arthur	55,530	43.2	17.7	3.5	35.6
Waco	90,287	55.4	18.4	9.6	16.6
Wichita Falls	71,248	40.6	26.6	8.7	24.1
Total	733,943	50.7	19.6	10.7	19.0

*Based on reports covering the last fiscal year ending prior to July 1, 1937.

is receiving unusual emphasis. Moreover, in one city a division may be charged with duties which elsewhere may be assigned to a different division. On the basis of these figures, therefore, the usefulness of functional police costs for intercity comparisons is doubtful. Nevertheless, the preparation of such figures for the executive will indicate the general trend in police costs and serve to isolate points of over-emphasis. It should be noted that a divisional distribution by cost may differ from a similar distribution on the basis of personnel because of a difference in compensation.

From this exploratory consideration of measurements based on administrative standards it appears that while the approach offers distinct possibilities, definite standards are not as yet available. Certain acceptable standards of administrative organization, such as a single executive, homogeneous grouping of functions, and the distinction between auxiliary services and primary functions, are applicable to police administration. Uncertainty enters, however, when the point of functional differentiation occurs, for there have been no manuals of administrative practice prepared which combine the latest methods. For this reason evaluation of police administration on the basis of administrative standards awaits a more definite delineation of the sphere of police activity and the duties to be performed.

INDICES OF MEASUREMENT

Various traditional indices have been employed for comparing police strength, first among which are the number of police per 1,000 population or number of persons per policeman, and the number of policemen per square mile and per million dollars of assessed property valuation. These methods have been followed chiefly because of their simplicity and the comparative ease of assembling the necessary data. That they are of limited use in computing the number of officers which a particular department should have is obvious because of the absence of any conclusive proof that these indices directly affect the crime rate. They are not to be condemned, however, for national compilations of police personnel strength will permit an executive to compare his department with other departments in the same population range and will furnish the basis for more extensive investigations than have hitherto been undertaken. Actual danger is encountered in some instances, however, when individuals propose that the size of a police department be determined solely on the basis of population.¹⁷

¹⁷For example, one proposal would provide for the compulsory appointment of 1 patrolman for each 750 population. *New Jersey Conference on Crime* (Trenton, 1935), 66. In another instance the recommendation was that "There should be in the cities of the state at least two policemen for every one thousand inhabitants." *New York State Crime Commission, Report to the Commission of the Sub-Commission on Police* (1929), 7.

While none of these proposals have reached the stage of legislative approval, they constitute a possible future danger which may be avoided by a revelation of their limited utility.

Crime Rates and Personnel Strength

In a recent study by the Federal Bureau of Investigation there appeared to be a definite relationship between the average crime rates and the average number of police employees per 1,000 population.¹⁸ The number of Part I offenses with two exceptions was smaller in those cities having an average of 2 patrolmen per 1,000 population than in those cities having 1.1 patrolmen per 1,000 population. While the results of this study are interesting and possibly significant, they do not as yet furnish a suitable basis for the establishment of the principle that the crime rate of a particular city will decrease as the number of policemen in relation to population increases. For one thing, the term "police employee" is loosely defined; in some cities persons will be employed in the police department who in other cities will be found in another department. Moreover, there is some doubt as to the effect of an augmented police personnel on the incidence of such Part I offenses as murder. Nevertheless, it is hoped that additional studies will be conducted along similar lines which will contain a further breakdown of the cities into several population groups and a discussion of personnel strength as related to other social factors. An application of the same procedure to Texas cities included in this compilation reveals a range of police personnel from .5 to 1.3 policemen per 1,000 population, but there is no definite relationship between the number of police employees and the crime rate. It should be noted, however, that the number of Texas cities making uniform crime reports is not sufficiently large to justify serious criticism on this score.

Personnel Distribution

A question of first importance in the administration of the several primary divisions relates to personnel distribution. In patrol administration the primary concern of the police chief is the con-

¹⁸Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports*, VIII (July, 1937), 72-73.

struction of beats in such a way as to apportion the available personnel on the basis of need. Additional matters to be considered are chronology, crime hazards, and other factors conditioning the amount of time which a patrolman will necessarily spend in covering his beat in an effective manner. Of basic importance to the police executive is the effective strength of his department, that is, the actual number of men available for duty at any particular time. The numerical strength of a particular division may be misleading because of the assignment of patrolmen to individual details, permanent outside assignments, and absences due to illness, days off, and vacations. For purposes of illustration, the numerical strength of the Detroit patrol force for 1936 may be considered.¹⁹ The total number of patrolmen in Detroit was 2,902. Successive subtractions necessitated by permanent assignments, details to special squads and divisions, furloughs and vacations, and sickness and injuries left an average patrol force of only 1,405 available for daily duty. Further division of this force into three shifts indicates the small number of officers actually present for patrol duty. It will be noted that on an average the effective patrol force was less than 50 per cent of the total number of patrolmen. The absence of adequate personnel records in the Texas departments prevents any consideration of the average strength of the various divisions.²⁰

Time Studies

As the first line of defense, the patrol division is directly responsible for crime repression through its patrolling activities. Offenses are seldom committed within the actual view of an officer, and it is essential that the patrolman be in different parts of his beat as often as possible. In addition, the patrolman, by virtue of his confinement to a beat, is ordinarily the first officer to reach the scene of a

¹⁹Detroit Police Department, *Annual Report, 1936* (1937), 10.

²⁰The practice in many departments of assigning beats on the basis of total strength rather than effective strength oftentimes leaves the city with little protection. For example, one Texas city with a total of ten radio patrol beats on some occasions actually was able to muster no more than enough personnel to man one patrol car for the night shift. Because of the absence of foot patrolmen in this particular city the entire patrol function in a city of over 200,000 population rested on two men in one car. Obviously, under such conditions, effective patrolling is impossible.

crime and therefore assumes the task of making a preliminary investigation or of protecting the crime scene until members of the detective division arrive. Observation of the activities of the patrol division in many cities indicates that the patrolman is primarily occupied with answering complaints and has little or no time for patrolling. It is important for the police executive to know, therefore, the actual time available for patrol duty in the several police beats. Chronological variations in the occurrence of offenses will be noted, and some shifts may be expected to have less time for patrolling than others. Nevertheless, an analysis of the daily reports of the patrolmen which indicates a disproportionate expenditure of time in answering complaints may be an indication of a need for a readjustment of beat boundaries to equalize the load, or additional patrol personnel.

Preventable and Detectable Crimes

At first glance it may appear that the patrolman should be held accountable for all crimes on his beat. An analysis of the various types of offenses, however, reveals that some are of such a nature that commission would occur even if the patrol strength were vastly increased. In estimating the effectiveness of the patrol division as a repressive influence the offenses should be divided into those which are reduced by effective patrolling and those which are diminished only through the certainty of detection. This distinction is taken into account by the London Metropolitan Police through the division of crimes into those which are "preventable" and those which are "detectable."²¹ Preventable crimes constitute offenses which can be kept in check to some extent by police vigilance, and include housebreaking, bag-snatching, pocket-picking, bicycle-stealing, and other offenses of a like nature. Detectable crimes include murder, forgery, fraud, embezzlement, and certain kinds of larceny. The latter type of crime ordinarily comes to police attention after it is committed and the repressive influence is obtained by effective detection. The commissioner of police suggests that "in endeavoring to make deductions from statistics as to the efficiency or other-

²¹*Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for the Year 1934* (Cmd. 4866, London, 1935), 17-19.

wise of police work, attention should be directed mainly to the preventable types of crime, as they must necessarily be a truer index of police vigilance and sound organization."²²

The necessity of such a distinction in measuring the effectiveness of the patrol division is emphasized still further by the results of a study of thefts in Fort Worth for the first six months of 1932.²³ The thefts occurring during this period were classified as to location. Theft not directly affected by police patrol included those made in hotel rooms, rooming houses, locker rooms, office buildings, business houses, and industrial establishments, and bicycle thefts, articles stolen from parked cars, and one-half of the thefts from residences. Offenses directly affected by patrolling included thefts of accessories stripped from parked cars, fixtures from vacant houses, articles taken from yards and garages, and one-half of the thefts from residences. A tabulation of the property losses on this basis revealed a total of \$23,606, of which \$15,260, or 66.2 per cent, could not be attributed to the patrol division. There must of course be differences of opinion as to the classification used. For example, bicycle thefts are chargeable in part at least to the patrol division; thefts from parked automobiles are likewise subject to diminution through patrol efficiency; and other assignments might be disputed. Nevertheless, the distinction is valid and the police executive in measuring patrol efficiency and weighing the necessity of increased personnel must take into account the occurrence of offenses which cannot be diminished regardless of the numerical strength of the patrol division.

In contrast with the more serious offenses included in the Part I classification, which ordinarily are known to the police, the responsibility of the patrol division for Part II offenses is difficult to determine in that the police must discover as well as make investigations in such cases. Since the number of offenses will tend to approximate the number of arrests in the instances of certain of

²²*Ibid.*, 18.

²³L. W. Hoelscher, *Report on the Fort Worth Police Department and Proposed Reorganization* (1933), 9-12. In this study one jewel theft amounting to \$4,500 was eliminated as an unusual occurrence.

these offenses, the police executive is limited to studies of the individual performances of patrolmen and the extent to which complaints decline on particular beats. In those departments assigning misdemeanor cases to patrolmen for investigation, the individual investigative abilities of the officers may be determined by their success in clearances.

Time Required to Answer Complaints

In some departments the effectiveness of the patrol division is measured in part by the average time required to reach the crime scene. Police executives point with pride to the fact that the average time required by a patrol car to respond to a complaint does not exceed one or two minutes. Even admitting the difficulty of keeping an accurate account of the actual time in seconds required to respond to a complaint, this index may be useful, although the tendency in some cities to place special emphasis on the reduction of the time factor to a low figure may lessen the patrol effectiveness in that individual officers may be on the alert for radio calls and so neglect ordinary patrol duties. The attempt in some instances to construct patrol beats on the basis of the time factor alone ignores a number of additional elements which must be taken into account in beat construction. For example, the requirement that the radio patrol beat be limited to an area which would permit the answering of a complaint in not more than two minutes at an average rate of speed of not more than twenty-five miles per hour would limit the maximum radius to eight-tenths of a mile. The time factor is only one of several points which must be taken into account in estimating patrol effectiveness.

Recovery of Stolen Property

The primary function of the criminal investigation division is the detection and apprehension of offenders and assistance in their prosecution. A corollary of this duty is the recovery of stolen property. Measurement of the activities of the detective division may be made individually or of the division as a whole. Individual measurements may be applied through the use of detective assignment records and an account of the cases assigned to each indi-

vidual and the number of cases cleared by arrest.²⁴ The most useful indices of measurement of the detective division have been summarized as (1) the percentage of cases cleared by arrest, (2) the percentage of stolen property recovered, (3) the percentage of persons arrested who are actually convicted, and (4) the percentage of persons actually convicted who are finally incarcerated in a penal institution.²⁵ Primary police responsibility is limited to the first two indices. The variations in the character of Part I offenses, for which clearances by arrest are tabulated, indicates that no general index can be devised for all offenses. This variation is indicated by the experiences of the five Texas cities over 100,000 population in clearing Part I offenses, as shown in Table XVIII. For

TABLE XVIII

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PART I OFFENSES CLEARED BY ARREST IN CITIES OVER 100,000 POPULATION, 1933-1936

Offenses	Per Cent of Part I Offenses Cleared		
	Minimum	Maximum	Average
Murder	66.7	100.0	88.4
Manslaughter	71.4	100.0	95.1
Rape	46.2	100.0	85.7
Robbery	13.7	80.1	39.7
Aggravated Assault	57.0	100.0	73.8
Burglary	12.2	68.9	26.9
Theft over \$50	17.6	66.7	32.9
Theft under \$50	10.3	81.6	21.0
Auto Theft	8.2	35.0	15.8
Total	13.9	72.3	24.8

a four-year period the number of offenses cleared by arrest varied from an average of 95.1 per cent in the instance of manslaughter by negligence to 15.8 per cent in auto theft cases. As the bulk of investigative efforts of the detective division will be devoted to burglaries, auto theft, and other thefts, the low average percentage

²⁴An offense has been cleared by arrest when "one or more persons are charged and prosecuted for it. If the person is released by the police without being formally charged, the offense is 'not cleared.'" Committee on Uniform Crime Records, *op. cit.*, 47. On the basis of the method of scoring offenses in the uniform crime reporting system, it should be noted that one arrest may clear several offenses, while several arrests may result in the clearance of only one offense.

²⁵Wilson, *op. cit.*, 34.

of clearances in these particular types of offenses indicates the difficulties confronting the detective division. Nevertheless, this index offers one of the most useful means of informing the police executive as to the ability of the detective division to apprehend felony offenders.

In computing an index for measuring the effectiveness of the detective division on the basis of percentage of stolen property recovered, it is again useful to classify the various types of offenses as to the class of property stolen. Certain types of property are subject to a much higher percentage of recovery than others. For example, in the first quarter of 1938 the property classification used in the uniform crime reporting system showed that the percentage of the value of property recovered in thirty-six cities over 100,000 population ranged from 7.4 per cent of stolen furs to 94 per cent of locally stolen automobiles.²⁶ It is useful to compute a general percentage of the total recoveries effected by the detective division, but obviously on the basis of present returns the auto theft unit can be expected to make a much higher recovery than other special details.

Percentage of Convictions Secured

The responsibility of the police for the conviction of the offender is shared with the prosecuting and judicial authorities. Under present arrangements the detective division is accountable for the collection of evidence which will permit the successful preparation of the case by the prosecutor and the securing of a conviction. The police cannot be held directly responsible for the final incarceration of the individual, but an account of the percentage of cases which culminate in actual incarceration will strengthen police arguments that liability for failure to convict the offender must be shared by other agencies.

Traffic Indices

Indices of measurement for the traffic division differ markedly from those previously discussed because of the regulatory character of traffic administration. The fact that the number of offenses for

²⁶Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports*, IX (April, 1938), 11.

traffic violations depends directly on the arrests made does not permit the utilization of the index of clearances by arrest. The purpose of the traffic division being primarily that of providing for the movement of vehicles with a minimum of delay and congestion, so as to promote safety, it is evident that the number of accidents and fatalities indicate the effectiveness of such regulation. One of the most useful units of measurement is the enforcement index, which is the ratio of the total number of convictions for moving violations to the total number of personal injury automobile accidents. Studies indicate that at least ten or twelve convictions should be obtained for each personal injury accident, for there appears to be a direct relationship between these two factors. It will be noted, however, that the number of convictions for moving violations is dependent in considerable part on the attitude of the traffic court which handles these offenses; and the extent to which tickets for traffic violations are ignored will affect the general attitude toward traffic ordinances. Nevertheless, the traffic division bears a direct responsibility in this instance and may by experimentation discover the enforcement index required in a particular city.

Further indices of measurement are the accident rate, the accident injury rate, and the accident fatality rate per 100,000 inhabitants and per 10,000 motor vehicles registered.²⁷ Use of the various rates on the basis of population will permit comparisons to be made with other municipalities and direct attention toward the remedial measures which may be undertaken to diminish accidents. Computations on the basis of the number of registered motor vehicles will supplement the preceeding indices and indicate the relation between the increasing number of motor vehicles and accidents. It may be noted in this instance that national estimates show that while the fatalities per 100,000 population continue to increase, the number of fatalities per 10,000 registered motor vehicles has decreased since 1934, although the long-time trend in the latter instance continues to mount.²⁸ With a detailed account of the number and location of traffic accidents and fatalities, the

²⁷Ridley and Simon, *op. cit.*, 138.

²⁸National Safety Council, *Accident Facts* (1937), 31.

personnel of the traffic division can be distributed on the basis of selective enforcement where needed.

The lack of a complete knowledge of traffic violations may be remedied in part by periodical "law observation checks" of traffic violations.²⁹ By this device the police chief is enabled to direct the activities of the traffic division in checking the growth of certain traffic offenses which may not be revealed by the accident rate. Observations of this type may be made of speed and the more important traffic regulations.

Vice Indices

Vice offenses likewise are difficult to estimate, in view of the unwillingness of many citizens to report violations of this type. Even where outside undercover agents are brought in for periodical checks on the incidence of vice offenses, no complete account of the range of violations can be obtained. It has been suggested that a useful measurement of vice may be found in the number of persons charged, but such an index is determined largely by the intensity of police activities which may vary without regard for the incidence of vice offenses. Admitting their deficiencies, however, citizen complaints and reports of undercover agents continue to be the most accurate indicators of the volume of vice in the community.

Juvenile Delinquency Indices

In charting the trend of juvenile offenses, the police executive may have studies made of the age and residence of juvenile offenders. The rate of juvenile delinquency per 1,000 children is also useful. The Wichita police are experimenting with an index of juvenile delinquency which is regarded as providing an accurate measurement of the volume of delinquency. The measurement is based on the assumption that the number of Part I offenses committed by juveniles is a reasonably fair index of the extent of delinquency, and that a Part I offense resulting from juvenile action is as difficult to clear by arrest as is an adult offense. By taking the total number of offenses committed in any given month and determining the ratio of clearances between juveniles and adults, one can determine

²⁹This method is employed in Wichita, Kansas.

the total number of juvenile offenses of that class committed during the month. The relatively late adoption of crime prevention as a primary function, and the uncertainty as yet as to the police role in the program preclude a definite measurement of accomplishment. Here as elsewhere the lack of well defined objectives is apparent.

While the presence of certain procedures which will permit the calculation of indices of police accomplishment seems to offer for the present a more fruitful approach to police measurement than in the instance of administrative standards, the lack of adequate reporting systems and the absence of any crime statistics over a long period counsel caution in reaching conclusions. While it may not be possible to reduce police measurement to the simplicity of a yardstick, nevertheless the opportunities which measurement affords for administrative supervision and control are apparent. With the information which an adequate record system can produce the executive is rescued from the former necessity of depending almost wholly on impressionistic observations as a basis of action. No indices which may be developed will obviate the need for intelligence in police management. They will serve only to assist in the conduct of executive duties. The possibilities revealed by this exploratory discussion of the measurement of police activities make it clear that it will occupy an important place in the future development of municipal police management.

CHAPTER VII

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Indicative of the changing character of municipal police administration in recent years is the dawning recognition of a positive police responsibility in inducing a favorable citizen attitude toward the program of crime control. The questions might be asked at the outset: Should a place be made in police operations for a program of public relations? Or is there an inherent conflict between the repressive character of police activities and a favorable public attitude, which prevents any permanent elevation of the police in the popular estimation? That the answer to the first question has been for the most part negative is evidenced by the general lack of attention to public relations. For this the police must share a portion of the blame. Until recently police administration was considered something of a mystery, to be understood and viewed only by those who had been inducted into the ritual of police work through active participation in crime control. To be sure, the problem of the relations between the press and the police has long been one of concern to executives.¹ Yet even here the immediate problem has been the possibility that the newspapers might give assistance to criminals by revealing police activities directed toward their apprehension. The assistance which the press might render in popularizing police activities and in invoking public support for the police program seems to have been overlooked. As used here, public relations is to be distinguished from the efforts of police officials to curry favor with those who may have benefits to bestow. With that type the police are only too familiar.

The repressive character of crime control has placed the police on the defensive, since their contacts with the public ordinarily have been of such a nature as to impose restrictions on the activities

¹For example, at the annual meeting of the International Association of Chiefs of Police in 1915, an animated discussion was devoted to the subject, "Police and Press." *Proceedings, Twenty-second Annual Convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police* (1915), 31-35.

of the citizen.² In the daily routine of crime control, and more particularly since the advent of the automobile with its accompanying numerous and detailed traffic regulations, the police have seemed constantly to place themselves athwart the path of the individual in matters which on many occasions appear to be trivial. Who has not heard, for example, the complaint of the traffic offender that the police are pursuing with great zeal the violators of parking regulations while major criminals carry on their activities with abandon? The police have been much less fortunate than their more favored brothers in the fire department, whose work escapes public notice except in those instances when they appear in the role of saviors. Thus charges of maladministration in the police and fire departments may be of equal merit in a particular city, but those against the police seem to occupy the major portion of public attention. Any program which may be inaugurated by the police must, of course, take these factors into consideration. Steering a middle course, the police executive must avoid the twin charges of favoritism to particular groups and complete indifference to all classes.

If an analysis is made of the several police functions, it may reveal that their repressive and prohibitory features have been overemphasized. Warnings for minor traffic violations may suffice for some offenders and eliminate the need for summons or formal arrest. The accident prevention bureau may serve as an agency for invoking public assistance in the apprehension of drivers who menace public safety. The patrolman visiting a store on his beat and suggesting certain rearrangements so as to strengthen it against possible attack is not acting in the traditional police role. Emphasis in the crime prevention efforts of the police is placed not on punishment but on rehabilitation. These and other examples indicate

²Successive British Royal Commissions have studied the relationships of the police and the public. In 1929 a Royal Commission reported that "There is little support for the charge that the Police generally are more arbitrary and oppressive in their attitude toward the public than they were before the War." It recommended that care be exercised to maintain good relations between the public and the police and "to remove all avoidable causes of friction and misunderstanding." *Report of the Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure* (Cmd. 3927, London, 1929), 110-12, 140.

that the police do not always act in a negative capacity. In short, many of their activities are services of such a nature as not to differ markedly from some of those provided by other municipal departments. Police service covers something more than the apprehension of offenders.

The Police Approach to Public Relations

The new police administration is seriously concerned with the public attitude toward the department. It aims to develop a program of publicity designed to give the citizens a less distorted account of the accomplishments of the department through building an understanding of its organization and work. Such a program must be so directed as to dispel the aura of mystery in many instances still associated with the police, and, within limits, to insure public support of adequate appropriations for the police department and to enroll the aid of citizens in the conduct of police work.³

The new approach may be built on the concept of an employer-employee relationship, with the public and the police playing the two roles.⁴ As has been well stated,

The nature of any relationship is determined by the attitude of the parties involved. A proper relationship between the police and the public is impossible unless both have a proper attitude. The actions and conduct of each are determined by their own attitudes. The attitude and conduct of each influence the attitude and conduct of the other. The attitude of the police is molded and built by the police themselves. It reflects our attitude. We will receive from them the respect that is due us, no more and no less. As a general rule, the treatment we receive is the treatment we may expect in view of our attitude toward them.⁵

To make possible a more favorable public attitude, modern police administration must assume direct responsibility for the formulation of a public relations program. Not that the program of crime control must be trimmed to take care of public attitudes.

³See John B. Blandford, Jr., "Public Coöperation and Effective Police Work," *City Manager Yearbook, 1933* (1933), 212-19.

⁴O. W. Wilson, "The Police and the Public," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1936-37* (1937), 46-47.

⁵*Ibid.*, 47.

on particular laws; that is a matter for the legislative bodies of the city and state.⁶ The police must take the initiative in fostering public contacts designed to rally support for their needs so as to build a powerful bulwark for use in times of stress. If the necessity of a police public relations program is recognized, questions arise as to (1) the person or persons responsible for its formulation and administration, and (2) the methods to be employed.

Executive Responsibility

A review of the practices of Texas chiefs of police with respect to public relations reveals with one or two exceptions a general failure to realize its significance. The attitude of police chiefs and ranking officers in the several major police departments is generally characterized by the feeling that the conduct of police affairs must be directed solely by those responsible, without taking the public into their confidence or in any way building public support through a definite program. The principal exception to this general statement is found in the field of traffic control. Several cities have developed active programs of traffic enforcement and education which have elicited the aid of citizens in an effective manner. In view of these accomplishments, it is rather surprising that no thought seems to have been given to the possibility of extending this practice to other fields of police endeavor. Sole blame does not attach to the police executives, however, for their short tenure is an effective handicap to experimentation. Under such conditions the general attitude may well be that of getting by with the least possible amount of friction; the realization that a demotion or discharge is in the offing prevents any straying from the beaten

⁶In a recent analysis of the causes of irritation affecting the relations of police and public, the following were suggested as legitimate reasons for police complaint: (1) the failure to adjust the present system of criminal jurisprudence to modern needs; (2) the dispersal of the police function among a vast number of governmental agencies in the metropolitan areas; (3) public unwillingness to repeal unenforceable laws; and (4) public acquiescence in permitting partisan interference in police administration. In turn it was suggested that the public is justified in complaining against (1) indiscriminate arrests, and (2) the corrupt police officer. Charles E. Merriam, "Police and Public," *Proceedings, Fortieth Annual Convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police* (1933), 96-100.

path. An effective program of public relations is closely associated with the problem of executive tenure.

Responsibility for the inauguration and conduct of a public relations program rests on the chief of police. In public administration it is almost axiomatic that the executive must control directly the personnel and public relations programs. The fact that the public relations program is to be conducted under the immediate supervision of the chief of police does not mean, however, that he must be responsible for its detailed operation. It means only that whoever is charged with immediate responsibility for this work may operate more effectively if he is attached to the office of the chief. In the smaller department the personnel director might assume this task. In any event it is essential that one individual be charged with responsibility for the conduct of the program.⁷ The methods employed to foster public support must become a part of the regular police routine, to be taught and followed the same as police tactics. In fact the two tend to become indistinguishable.

Systematic efforts at public relations have been lacking in municipal police administration in Texas with one or two exceptions. Some years ago one department after a survey by an outside chief of police endeavored to inaugurate a public relations program by giving a commanding officer the definite title of director of public relations. The effort was generally misunderstood by the public, however, and was abandoned with a change in police executives. This experience indicates one of the immediate problems which arise in the conduct of such a program. Those who take an active

⁷Maxwell Halsey, "Building Support for Police Departments," *ibid.*, 260.

The following qualifications have been suggested as a basis for the selection of employees to direct programs of public relations: (1) personal cleanliness; (2) natural dignity born of self-respect; (3) full recognition of the rights and honest misunderstandings of the average citizen; (4) ability to view a public issue through the eyes of the person on the other side of the counter; (5) ability to speak (or to write) calmly, clearly, definitely, and—on occasion—forcefully; (6) full and detailed knowledge of the public business at hand, and a broad working knowledge of public affairs generally; (7) an abiding belief in the public importance of the job; (8) abundance of mental and physical energy, and an unfailing willingness to render service; (9) courteous and friendly coöperation with fellow employees; and (10) loyalty to the service. Don J. Kinsey, "Training Employees in Public Relations," *Public Management*, XX (June, 1938), 171-74.

interest in municipal expenditures feel that a police department is paid to do a particular job and that it should not spend public money in carrying on what appears to some to be "propaganda." Under these conditions assumption of the responsibility for public relations by a regular officer of the department will lend emphasis to the program and tie it in with the routine activities of the police. An elaborate program designed to impress the public with police work may imperil the whole movement.

In order that the public relations program may be inaugurated under favorable auspices it is necessary that there be a clear understanding among the officers of the departmental policy in making public any information concerning police activities. All important matters should receive the approval of the police executive before being released. Further, the police public relations program must be integrated with that of the municipal executive, and conferences between department heads constitute one method of avoiding conflicting statements. While the police are concerned specifically with the public attitude from the police viewpoint, they constitute only one of several municipal departments, each of which is also concerned with an improved public attitude.

Face-to-Face Relations

The methods to be employed in a public relations program will need to be shaped with local conditions in mind. They may take various forms. There are several media through which the activities of the police come to the attention of the public and these may well form the framework of the present discussion. These media are (1) face-to-face relations between the police and the public, (2) newspapers, (3) information supplied to interested citizens, research agencies, and students, and (4) departmental publications, particularly the annual report.

Face-to-face relations are found where the primary contact is between an officer and a citizen. Of first importance here is the personal police approach to the public. Citizens having business at police headquarters are almost always potential critics of the department. For this reason the office of desk sergeant (or complaint officer) becomes one of focal importance. Contrast the

reaction of a citizen who is received courteously at police headquarters with that of another citizen who experiences difficulty in finding the person to whom the complaint is to be made and then is accorded indifferent attention. The failure of Texas chiefs to realize the importance of the desk sergeant is indicated by the type of officer ordinarily appointed to this post. Too often it is regarded as a proper position for an older member of the department who no longer is physically able to endure the rigors of field service. To one familiar with the public relations aspect of his work, it is evident that a young, capable, and vigorous person with a thorough knowledge of the police department and of the city in general is needed at this post; for what is required here above everything is quick and decisive attention to citizen inquiries. Although an unfavorable building arrangement, of which there are many in Texas, will irritate those unfamiliar with the location of the various offices, the proper type of desk sergeant may overcome at least some of these difficulties.

The personal approach made to persons in the field also furnishes an opportunity to make a supporter of a citizen. What is required, of course, is civil treatment of all offenders or persons handled by the police. This places the police in the difficult position of having to develop a reputation for civility while remaining firm and business-like in handling complaints. The point where this personal approach becomes of particular significance is in the handling of traffic violators. The traffic officer is faced with the difficult task of leading the offender to feel that the arrest is made not because of an affront to the officer himself but rather because of a definite program pursued by the police to reduce traffic accidents. This approach ties in the arrest with the safety program and effects a definite realization on the part of the offender that all persons are being treated alike. This does not mean, of course, that any argument should ensue between the offender and the officer.

Another potential source of public support for the police is found in the services which an alert department may render to citizens. The character of this type of police activity differs from the regular police routine in that it is concerned with preventive and non-arrest duties. For example, a policeman will become well acquainted with many persons on his beat. Such acquaintance

serves the purpose of inducing a free and easy relationship between the officer and the portion of the public on his beat and of increasing patrol efficiency through voluntary information on certain matters which otherwise might escape his attention. Because of the substitution of motor patrol for foot patrol this important police-public relationship has tended to decline in recent years. To offset this some police departments encourage the performance of certain routine duties by the patrolmen in order to retain the face-to-face relationship. For example, one department requires a periodical inspection of all business houses by the patrolman on the beat.⁸ Primarily used for the purpose of calling the merchant's attention to practices which will make the building less vulnerable to criminal attack, the inspection serves the additional purposes of effecting a direct contact between the officer and the merchant and of impressing the latter with the necessity of coöperating with the police in their efforts at crime control.

Another device capable of extensive use in the smaller city is that of welcoming newcomers. Through various means the police may obtain the names and addresses of persons moving into the city to take up permanent residence. After a few days the patrolman on the beat calls on the new resident, acquaints him with the services which the police can render, and instructs the members of the family as to the correct procedure to be followed on leaving home at night or during absences from the city.⁹ Such an action serves to eliminate crime hazards, to effect a personal acquaintance-ship, and to procure a knowledge of individuals who are coming into the city. In addition to these devices the police may also make desirable contacts through the rendering of first aid in emergency cases, the issuance of a warning to a traffic violator, instead of a formal summons if the offense is not serious, and the supplying of information to persons inquiring as to the location of buildings and other points of interest.¹⁰

⁸See O. W. Wilson, "The Relation between Minor Rackets and Major Crimes," *City Manager Yearbook*, 1933 (1933), 220-21.

⁹O. W. Wilson, "The Police and the Public," *op. cit.*, 52.

¹⁰Suggestions for improving the face-to-face relations of the police and the public have been presented by Oscar G. Olander, Commissioner of the Michigan State Police, in a booklet entitled *Police Courtesy* (1937).

Press Relations

Almost from the beginning of organized police departments the problem of press relations has vexed police executives. The press is interested in obtaining news stories, and the introduction of serious competition among newspapers has heightened the demands made on police chiefs for accounts of police activities, which furnish one of the most fruitful sources of stories. On the other hand the police may be interested in the temporary suppression of news which might assist criminals to elude apprehension. The broad scope of this problem is such as to preclude any detailed consideration here of its many ramifications. Primary attention will be devoted to the possibilities of employing the press as a medium for accurate reporting of police news.¹¹

Newspapers cannot be relied upon to serve as a reporting agency for the police except in the matter of current events, for newspapers ordinarily do not possess a staff sufficiently large to take care of and are not concerned primarily with long-range studies relating to crime and criminal justice. Some other agency, preferably a municipal research bureau, must be assigned this important task. The relations of the police and the press will be conditioned also by the attitude of the newspaper toward the city administration. Since the police occupy a conspicuous position among the municipal departments, they almost invariably receive the brunt of newspaper criticism of municipal regimes. Under such circumstances great care must be exercised by the police executive to avoid charges of favoritism by pursuing a policy of strict neutrality. In Texas cities with daily newspapers the general practice is to give news reporters access to most police records. Statements regarding police activities ordinarily do not clear through the office of the chief but are given out by officers of various ranks. The general practice seems to be that reporters ordinarily are taken into the confidence of the chief in the matter of a particular investigation with the request, rarely violated, that news stories be delayed until their publication will not hinder the investigation.

¹¹The relationships of the press and the police in the dispensing of crime news are discussed in the *Proceedings of the Attorney-General's Conference on Crime* (Washington, 1934), 82-111; and Cleveland Foundation, *Criminal Justice in Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1922), 515-55.

In the larger departments offices are assigned for the exclusive use of reporters.

Despite this situation, however, the matter of the relationship between the press and the police remains a thorny problem. Definite rules for the guidance of the police executive in his relations with the press are lacking, primarily because of the failure of the chief to comprehend the implications which a clear understanding may have for an improved relationship. The police cannot reply to unfair attacks made in the press for they do not have the weapons of publicity enjoyed by newspapers. The principal complaint of chiefs of police is that the news reporter knows little about police administration and is inclined to appraise police activities without a proper comprehension of the problems involved. The reply generally is that the chief and his officers know little about news values. Despite this dilemma, however, some practices have evolved which may be useful. For example, a strict policy of non-favortism among reporters is fundamental. This eliminates scoops, and implies the equal apportionment of news stories so far as possible to morning and afternoon papers. Another practice is that of refraining from answering in kind vicious attacks on the department. Reporters may be taken into the chief's confidence and thereby be bound to withhold news from publicity until the proper time. Finally, every endeavor must be made by the police executive to maintain cordial relations not only with the reporter but also with the editor. Too often sight is lost of the fact that the reporter is under orders to obtain a story, and that in case of difficulty the person who should be consulted is not the reporter but his editor.¹² In any event the relationships between the press and the police demand the careful consideration and study of the police executive in order that the public so far as possible may receive an unbiased account of police activities.¹³

¹²For the advice of a "composite newspaperman" to a "composite public official," see Hal Hazelrigg, "A Newspaper Man looks at City Hall," *Public Management*, XX (March, 1938), 67-70. Although addressed primarily to the mayor or manager, the recommendations may well be adapted for use by the police executive.

¹³For discussions of English practice, see A. F. Wilcox, Jr., "Police and the Press," *The Police Journal*, VIII (London, 1935), 143-49; and W. J. Lamont

Informational Service

Citizens, research agencies, and students are coming to inquire more and more concerning particular activities of the police department.¹⁴ To most police chiefs this is a nuisance to be regarded at best as a necessary evil. Some chiefs, however, have realized the implications which such inquiries have for increased public respect and support. To dispel the attitude of mystery commonly associated with the police, they invite citizen groups, municipal research agencies, college and high school students, and other interested individuals to visit the police department. Some citizens, for example, may be made strong supporters of the police department through the inexpensive procedure of acquainting them with police problems by a tour of the city under police guidance.

Departmental Publications

Supplementing the devices previously considered are the departmental publications issued by the police. Among the most important of these is the annual report summarizing the activities of the department for the previous year. A review of the public reporting practices of Texas cities reveals that annual police reports are issued regularly by only five cities, namely Austin, Beaumont, El Paso, Fort Worth, and Houston, out of a total of fourteen above 40,000 population. Other departments make annual reports consisting of a few typewritten pages in the form, ordinarily, of a letter to the mayor or manager from the chief of police. For

Nish, "Police and Press," *Police Chronicle and Constabulary World*, No. 149 (September 17, 1937), 10-11.

¹⁴Police chiefs generally decry the deluge of questionnaires to which they have been subjected in recent years. A change of attitude is indicated, however, by the recent statement of a committee of police chiefs who believed these inquiries manifest "a growing interest in professionalization and reorganization of governmental agencies of which we are a part, and that by working with us they are developing a sympathetic understanding of police problems which, if we grasp the opportunity, can make it possible for us to make more rapid strides in our development. There is an old saying that when a person is not up on a subject he is usually down on it, and we feel that in the past there has been a woeful lack of understanding of our problems which is slowly being overcome." J. A. Greening, "Report of the Committee on Scientific Standards in Police Service," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1936-37* (1937), 68.

present purposes these are not considered, since they do not come into the hands of the public except in instances when they are summarized in news stories. To arrive at some objective conclusions concerning these reports in the light of present-day reporting practices, the five regularly issued have been examined in Table XIX

TABLE XIX

EVALUATION OF FIVE ANNUAL TEXAS POLICE REPORTS IN TERMS OF THE
STANDARDS PRESCRIBED BY THE COMMITTEE ON UNIFORM
CRIME RECORDS

Items	Number of Reports Including Item	Percentage of Reports Including Item
Essential Features:		
Introductory Statement	1	20
Strength and Distribution of Force	—	—
Offenses Known to Police (Uniform Classification)	3	60
Persons Charged by Police	—	—
Lost, Stolen, and Recovered Property	5	100
Building and Equipment	1	20
Miscellaneous Services	2	40
Total Essential Features	12*	34
Additional Features:		
Additions to Force, Separations, and Details	4	80
Offenses by Month and Hour	—	—
Dispositions of Persons Charged	3	60
Comparative Rates of Crime	—	—
Traffic Violations	3	60
Criminal Identification	5	100
Statement of Expenditures	3	60
Vehicular Accidents	5	100
Total Additional Features	23†	58
Total	35‡	47

*Possible Total, 35.

†Possible Total, 40.

‡Possible Total, 75.

on the basis of the standards proposed by the Committee on Uniform Crime Records of the International Association of Chiefs of Police.¹⁵

¹⁵Committee on Uniform Crime Records, International Association of Chiefs of Police, *A Guide for Preparing Annual Police Reports* (New York, 1929). See also L. S. Timmerman, "The Annual Police Report," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXLVI (November, 1929), 96-103.

This suggested form prescribes seven essential features for an annual police report. Eight additional points are recommended for inclusion if possible. The Committee on Uniform Crime Records states that while it is not necessary that the report be printed, the Committee nevertheless believes that "the publication and general distribution of such a report will help to secure the interest and cooperation of municipal officials and the public at large, and thereby contribute to the steady improvement of police service. In any event, every police executive should have such information readily available for administrative purposes."¹⁶

From the table most of the recommended features are found to be missing from the Texas reports. Of the essential features recommended for inclusion, only one—that relating to lost, stolen, and recovered property—is found in all five reports. No account is given in any of the reports of the strength and distribution of the force and the persons charged by the police. As to the additional features, two—those relating to criminal identification records and vehicular accidents—are found in all of the reports. No consideration is given in any report to offenses by month and hour and to comparative rates of crime. Considering the reports separately, that of Austin contains nine out of a possible total of fifteen features; eight are found in the Fort Worth report, seven in the Beaumont and El Paso reports, and five in the Houston report. For the seven essential features the best record is that of the Austin, El Paso, and Fort Worth reports, each of which contains three of the recommended items. The Houston report contains only one of the seven essentials. It is evident therefore that the few reports published by the police fall below the minimum standards. Some of the reports include a vast amount of material which might well be deleted. It is probable that most of them could be so constructed as to conform to the standard proposed by the Committee on Uniform Crime Records without any additional expenditure of time or money.

While the answer to the original query as to whether the police should engage in a public relations program has been in the affirmative, it is evident that the police have not been as appreciative of

¹⁶Committee on Uniform Crime Records, *op. cit.*, 3.

the possibilities of public support as have some of their departmental fellows. Each of the municipal departments dealing with education, parks, libraries, and fire protection has built up a clientele which has become a powerful factor in securing recognition at the hands of the appropriating authorities and in defending it from outside attacks. While the activities of these departments do not provide a complete analogy with those of the police, the point made earlier as to the non-repressive character of many police activities indicates some possibilities which the police have not grasped. With the general dispelling of the spirit of defeatism formerly characteristic of police attitudes the police may acquire a more dignified position if they assume actively the responsibility of building public support on a proper basis.

The police must of course be able to emerge in good order from the pitiless publicity which a public relations program involves.¹⁷ It is necessary, therefore, that the police house be set in order before the public is invited to view its activities and before public support can be elicited on any long-term basis. Thus the necessary adjuncts of successful police administration, such as a capable personnel, an effective reporting procedure, a proper attitude toward the public—all of these must be present before any program of public relations can be safely launched. If the public relations program degenerates into back-slapping designed to mask police ineffectiveness, it is inevitable that the facade will be quickly penetrated and the department appraised at its proper value. Before launching a public relations program, then, the police chief must make certain that the department will stand favorably under any examination which may be made. If he cannot convince himself that it will, he had better let the matter of public relations take care of itself and continue in the groove set by traditional practice.

¹⁷O. W. Wilson, "The Police and Public," *op. cit.*, 54-55.

PART THREE
AUXILIARY SERVICES

CHAPTER VIII

PERSONNEL

It becomes increasingly apparent that efforts at police improvement will prove futile unless they accord a prominent place to personnel. As the paramount auxiliary service of the police department, the administration of personnel is of first interest to the police executive. It has been truly said that "it becomes constantly more clear that the management of police personnel and the administration of a police force are essentially one and the same thing."¹

For purposes of clarity and emphasis the discussion of personnel has been divided into four parts. The first part will be concerned with a consideration of existing factors affecting police personnel administration in Texas cities. Some of these factors are encountered throughout the country; others are peculiar to Texas cities. The second division will deal with personnel data on police employees in Texas cities. The purpose there will be to present facts relating to the age, education, and size of the police service based on an exhaustive study of the larger Texas cities. The third part will be concerned with current police personnel practices. Departmental responsibility in the control of personnel will form the subject matter of the fourth division.

FACTORS AFFECTING POLICE PERSONNEL

Limitations on Tenure

A fundamental requirement of any public personnel system based on merit is that tenure be indefinite during good behavior and satisfactory service. It is therefore necessary at the outset to consider briefly the limitation on tenure found in the State Constitution. This provision, which has hampered the installation of municipal, county, and state merit systems, specifies that "The duration of all offices not fixed by this Constitution shall never exceed two years; . . ."² The judicial history of this constitutional

¹Citizens' Police Committee, *Chicago Police Problems* (Chicago, 1931), 47-48.

²Constitution, Art. XVI, Sec. 30.

provision so far as it applies to Texas cities reveals as yet no clear definition of the meaning of the term "offices." It may be said, however, that at least a portion of the municipal police is embraced within the constitutional meaning of the term.

Early challenges of municipal police tenure were made, but not until 1904 was the court called upon to decide definitely on a conflict between the constitutional provision and a city charter. In this instance a charter provision of the City of Houston specifying that police officers should hold office during good behavior was declared invalid as contrary to the two-year constitutional limit.³ It was also held that the constitutional prohibition cannot be circumvented by the requirement that automatic reappointment be made at the end of each biennial period. A recent decision reaffirms the earlier case.⁴ In both of these instances the court ruled that police officers are occupants of "offices" as that term was defined in the Constitution, since they receive their commissions from the state and are in effect state officers.⁵

These definite judicial pronouncements would seem to apply to all employees performing police duties, save perhaps those of a strictly clerical character. Further confusion has been added, however, by the holdings in two recent cases. A dispute arising in Houston over the dismissal by the mayor of a superintendent of the police identification bureau and the refusal to grant a hearing as provided by the charter and the rules and regulations of the civil service commission led to a suit for the salary of the unexpired period of appointment.⁶ The ruling granted the application of the dismissed employee and his salary for the unexpired period. It appeared, then, that while no appointment of a police officer could be made for a longer term than two years, no discharge could be

³*City of Houston v. Mahoney*, 80 S.W. 1142 (1904).

⁴*City of Dallas v. McDonald*, 103 S.W. (2d) 725 (1937). In *McDonald v. City of Dallas*, 69 S.W. (2d) 175 (1934), the appellate court held that "A policeman of an incorporated town or city is an officer and as such his term of office cannot continue longer than two years, under limitation of the general provisions of the State Constitution."

⁵The Supreme Court has definitely labeled city police officers as "State Officers." *Yett v. Cook*, 281 S.W. 837 (1926). See also *Ex parte Preston*, 161 S.W. 115 (1913).

⁶*Ellis v. Holcombe*, 69 S.W. (2d) 449 (1934).

effected during that period, except for cause, without violation of the city charter. The holding seemed to indicate the application of the constitutional definition of an officer to all members of the department exercising police duties.

A recent decision, however, distinguishes the Ellis case by pointing out that Ellis was an employee and not an officer.⁷ The Grotta case involved the dismissal of a warrant officer by a mayor with a denial of hearing in the same manner as in the Ellis case. The dismissed employee based his application for salary and reinstatement on the ruling in the Ellis case. Calling the police identification superintendent an "employee," however, the court held the Ellis case not to be applicable; the position occupied by the applicant (a warrant officer) was a police "office." The decision of the court in dismissing Grotta's plea was based on the ground that the city charter provided for the establishment and maintenance of a police department by ordinance. In the instant case the court could not find in the ordinance setting up the police department any provision for a definite number of persons to be appointed to each specified office. The court went on to point out that the creation of a municipal office is essentially a legislative matter which cannot be performed by mere resolution or executive order; hence there was no office to be filled and consequently the dismissed employee could not claim title to an office which did not exist.

The Grotta case introduces two new problems concerning police personnel. One of these raises the question as to the criterion to be employed in dividing the members of the police service into "employees" and "officers." It requires a fine distinction to call a warrant officer an "officer" and a superintendent of an identification bureau an "employee," since neither is directly involved in the primary function of patrol or criminal investigation. The second point concerns the establishment of a police department. According to the Grotta case the office must be specifically set up by ordinance and an appointment made to that particular office. Changes in the classification of offices and additions in the number of

⁷*Holcombe v. Grotta*, 102 S.W. (2d) 1041 (1937). For a brief discussion of this case, see *Legal Notes on Local Government*, III (July, 1937), 39. The ruling in the Grotta case was based in part on the earlier case of *City of San Antonio v. Coultrass*, 169 S.W. 917 (1914).

appointees to offices must be approved by the city council through an ordinance before an appointment can legally be made. This requirement serves to make the classification system more rigid, since any effort to add new employees or change the duties of old employees must run the gauntlet of council confirmation. In short, this decision plunges a very important administrative function directly into the arena of the council's political activities and may operate very effectively to handicap the police chief's discretionary authority. It is not sufficient, therefore, for the council to set up offices in a police department and provide salaries for those offices; it must in addition approve any changes in the number of offices if the Grota decision is carried to its logical conclusion.

These considerations emphasize the uncertain status of the formal merit systems of the six Texas cities where such are found. The constitutional two-year limitation on tenure makes it entirely possible for political considerations to affect appointments, since at the expiration of the term the way is left open for a clean sweep of the police personnel. Further, the Grota decision, when considered in conjunction with the Ellis case, confuses the situation as to the status of the police personnel. Some are employees; others are officers. No one knows, however, except in the instance of patrolmen, identification superintendents, and warrant officers, what the classifications are. It remains for the court to determine this point in each specific case on the basis of the classification of positions employed by each city.

Extent of the Merit System

Formal merit systems are found in only six Texas cities, five of which are above 100,000 population.⁸ These cities are Dallas, El Paso, Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio, and Waco. In San Antonio and Waco the jurisdiction of the civil service commission

⁸Much confusion exists with regard to the employment of the term "civil service." Strictly speaking, the term "civil service" applies to all civil employees in the public service, although it is generally used to refer to a formal personnel agency, usually an independent civil service commission. Since a merit system may operate in a city without an independent personnel agency, or indeed with only an informal arrangement, the term "formal merit system" has been used to characterize those cities with independent personnel agencies. The term "civil service" is employed in its strict sense.

is limited to the fire and police departments. No provision is made for a personnel agency of any sort in the remaining cities of the state, and save for random applications of some aspects of the merit system, principally in the use of examinations for purposes of appointment in occasional instances, few attempts to apply modern principles of personnel management are found. This statement is not to be construed as a charge that the remaining cities habitually employ the spoils system, for there are occasional and noteworthy exceptions. By and large, however, the Texas municipal civil service, save for the uncertain safeguards in the six cities with formal merit systems, is subject to all the usual practices of spoils politics.

This indictment applies with full force to the police service, for there is a general belief that no particular qualifications are necessary for the exercise of the duties of an officer and that, consequently, no harm can result from frequent overturns of the police personnel. There is no need to cite a long list of cases, but one or two will evidence the continuance of the spoils system in its worst form. In 1937 a city of approximately 40,000 population experienced a complete change in the offices of mayor and council, with the result that of a total police personnel of thirty-two only one was retained.⁹ Another city of approximately 20,000 population with a police personnel of fifteen in the same year discharged all but three members of the department. The effect of such action upon the morale and work of the police officers will be evident. No long-term plans with regard to crime prevention, traffic planning, or any other police operation can be attempted nor can the officer feel any except a passing interest in his job.

Despite the growing belief on the part of many public administrators and students that the new public management cannot operate to best advantage under a merit system which places a premium on the negative aspects of personnel control and which vests direction

⁹The reason given for the retention of this sole survivor was that he had attended a police training school at the expense of the city and hence some effort should be made to realize on the investment. At the same time, however, the police commissioner stated that the character of police work was such as not to attract capable personnel and insisted that his department was free of politics!

in the hands of an independent agency,¹⁰ the present outlook in Texas has not proceeded beyond the stage of civil service reform. In endeavoring to control the civil service, the independent personnel agency not infrequently takes on the aspect of a line function. It thus steps out of its role as a staff agency, formed for the purpose of assisting the executive in the handling of personnel problems, and invades the administrative province by interposing a barrier between the chief and the police service.

Interference by the Personnel Agency

A review of the extent to which municipal civil service commissions in Texas have invaded the domain of the police chief and overruled his decisions on personnel matters is inconclusive, with one exception, because of the close control exercised over the commission by the appointing authority. Of the six cities, three provide two-year terms, two specify three-year terms, and one a five-year term for civil service commissioners. This practice makes it possible for the mayor and council as the appointing authorities to control the commission with little difficulty except in the case of San Antonio with its five-year term.¹¹

Only in one city has there appeared any tendency to overrule the police chief in disciplinary cases. In this instance the trial board, consisting of two city councillors and one member of the civil service commission, in the period from 1931 to 1937 heard a total of twenty-eight appeals from employees disciplined by the chief of police by dismissal, indefinite suspension, or definite suspension. Of this total, sixteen were decided adversely to the chief of police. These sixteen cases involved nine dismissals, six indefinite suspensions, and one definite suspension. Of the twelve decisions

¹⁰Bruce Smith, "Civil Service as Negative Control," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLXXXIX (January, 1937), 159-64.

Notwithstanding the changing emphasis in personnel administration, the protection accorded the police by the older system continues to appear inviting. For a statement of this view, see Peter Keresman, "Protect All Police by Civil Service," *The Police Journal*, XXIII (August, 1937), 12-14.

¹¹The validity of the provision for a term longer than two years is open to doubt in view of the constitutional limitation on tenure mentioned above. The courts have not yet ruled on the question whether civil service commissioners are officers.

upholding the chief of police seven dealt with dismissals and eight with indefinite suspensions. This summary by no means includes all disciplinary cases arising in the department, since the attitude of the board precludes many disciplinary actions which might otherwise be taken. In the remaining cities few decisions adverse to the chief of police in the matter of disciplinary actions were noted. Whether this is due to the ability of the mayor and council to "control" the civil service commission or to the character of the commission cannot be determined. There is some basis for the conclusion, however, that the civil service commissions ordinarily do not interfere with the exercise of disciplinary power by the police executive to the extent found elsewhere in the United States. Texas chiefs cannot complain of interference by the commission; it is the mayor and council who generally intervene directly in police management.

THE POLICE SERVICE

If police personnel is inseparable from the quality of police performance, it follows that the composition of the force is a subject of vital importance. By means of personal inquiry and study of records, the police personnel in cities over 40,000 population was studied on the basis of size, compensation standards, tenure, and other points of interest in the personnel process. With this investigation as a background, an evaluation of the present practices of police personnel administration may be undertaken.

Personnel Strength

The numerical police strength of a city depends directly on population (Table XX). As has been noted previously,¹² only the fourteen cities above 40,000 population possess a personnel sufficiently large to permit the organization of the department along lines of specialization, and with a few exceptions it is from these units that advances in police administration may be expected. The estimated number of policemen in Texas cities is approximately 3,000, of which over 50 per cent is found in the cities above 40,000 population. The problem of municipal police personnel in Texas,

¹²See Chap. II.

TABLE XX

MUNICIPAL POLICE PERSONNEL, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Group	Total Cities in Texas	Total Cities Reporting	Police Personnel			Total
			Minimum	Maximum	Average	
100,000 and over.....	5	5	92	326	236.6	1,183
40,000-100,000	9	9	22	74	47.6	428
10,000-40,000	29	23	4	34	11.5	333*
3,500-10,000	92	42	1	13	3.9	361*
1,000-3,500	224	124	1	6	1.8	406*
Below 1,000	236	83	1	5	1.2	290*
Total	595	286	1	326	5.0	3,001

*The total personnel for these groups is based on an estimate obtained by multiplying the total number of cities in each population group by the average of the police personnel of the cities reporting for each group. The total estimate is probably slightly higher than it should be, because of the lack of any paid policemen in some of the smaller cities.

therefore, is primarily the concern of the fourteen cities in this group. This is not to say, of course, that the police employees in the lower population group are of little importance. In fact, in the lowest of these groups one officer alone is often charged with complete responsibility for law enforcement in cities with populations extending to four or five thousand. Certainly under present conditions a tremendous responsibility rests on this one individual, a responsibility not generally realized by those charged with the duty of directing municipal affairs.

To compare the Texas municipal police personnel with that of cities of other states, Table XXI was prepared. It includes a com-

TABLE XXI

MUNICIPAL POLICE EMPLOYEES PER 1,000 POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN TEXAS, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1936*

Population Group	United States		Texas	
	Number of Cities	Police Employees per 1,000 Population	Number of Cities	Police Employees per 1,000 Population
250,000 and over	37	2.1	2	1.1
100,000-250,000	56	1.4	3	1.0
50,000-100,000	103	1.3	5	0.9
25,000-50,000	186	1.2	6	0.8
10,000-25,000	555	1.0	17	0.7
2,500-10,000	1,223	1.1	28	1.1
Total	2,160	1.6	61	1.0

*Adapted from Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports*, VIII (July, 1937), 74-90.

putation of the average number of police employees per 1,000 population found in cities above 2,500 population in the United States and in Texas.¹³ On the basis of this index, Texas cities rank below the national average save in the lowest population group, 2,500 to 10,000. The failure to attain the national average is most prominently noted in cities over 250,000 population. In this instance, however, it must be recalled that the national average includes the several major metropolitan cities which are not strictly comparable with the larger cities of Texas. Although the criterion employed must be used with caution,¹⁴ it is important to note that the police personnel strength in Texas cities is below the national average.

Compensation and Hours of Work

As in other fields of public service a factor of considerable influence in determining the type of police personnel is that of compensation. Many compilations of police salary data have been made in recent years for the purpose of comparing a given city with those in other sections. These comparisons, while of value, are not to be employed without reference to other factors, since salaries are conditioned in no small degree by the financial resources of the city. Another point which must be considered if salary comparisons are to possess any value is the length of the working day. For example, two cities may pay identical salaries of \$1,200 to patrolmen, but one may require an eight-hour day for six days a week while the other may use a twelve-hour day for seven days each week. On this basis, while the actual salaries are the same, the hourly wage is weighted heavily in favor of the former city.

Table XXII presents a summary of the average actual and the average adjusted salaries paid to certain supervisory and rank and file positions in the police department.¹⁵ The average actual salaries are related directly to the size of the city; only one exception

¹³The population figures and classification are those employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in its *Uniform Crime Reports*.

¹⁴The adequacy of population as an index is discussed in Chap. VI.

¹⁵The adjusted salary is simply a relative figure and is employed to reduce the compensation to a common basis. The number of hours which the employees in the several ranks devote to their tasks each year was used to compute an hourly wage. The hourly wage was then employed to calculate

TABLE XXII

ACTUAL AND ADJUSTED AVERAGE SALARIES OF CERTAIN POLICE POSITIONS,
BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Position	100,000 Population and Over		40,000— 100,000 Population		10,000— 40,000 Population	
	Actual	Adjusted	Actual	Adjusted	Actual	Adjusted
Supervisory:						
Chief	\$4,240	\$4,549	\$2,907	\$3,231	\$1,999	\$1,290
Chief of Detectives...	2,640	2,429	1,888	1,489	—	—
Captain	2,474	2,168	1,681	1,453	1,603	1,022
Lieutenant	2,176	1,193	1,800	1,432	2,040	1,121
Sergeant	1,914	1,849	1,562	1,493	1,354	790
Identification Chief	2,460	2,249	1,707	1,404	1,461	859
Rank and File:						
Patrolman	1,644	1,464	1,460	1,151	1,397	840
Detective	1,831	1,342	1,517	1,160	1,380	766
Radio Operator	1,800	1,696	1,280	1,046	1,155	659
General Clerk	1,617	1,644	1,620	1,495	1,200	660

to this prevailing tendency is found in the supervisory group. A similar trend exists with regard to the rank and file. When these salaries are adjusted to a common basis the same trend may be noted, but with a much greater variation. Since patrolmen constitute a major portion of the police personnel, the variations in their compensation are of particular interest. In each population group the adjusted salary is lower than the actual salary, with the largest range being from \$1,397 to \$840 in the cities of 10,000 to 40,000 population. An explanation is found in the longer hours worked in the smaller cities and in the general absence of a forty-eight-hour week.¹⁶

The working conditions of patrolmen, as they relate to hours and wages, are given further consideration in Table XXIII. Computing the hourly wage on the basis of the number of hours actually worked, wide variations are found within each population range.

an annual adjusted salary by assuming that each officer would be employed forty-eight hours a week for fifty-two weeks each year with a paid vacation of fourteen days. The paid vacation was eliminated and the calculations made on the basis of the actual time worked. This procedure fails to take into account absences on account of sickness and injuries.

¹⁶Some employees, notably the chief and clerks, receive a higher average adjusted salary which is caused by the forty-four-hour week generally prevailing for these positions.

TABLE XXIII

HOURLY COMPENSATION AND LENGTH OF WORKING DAY OF PATROLMEN,
BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Group	Adjusted Hourly Wage*			Length of Working Day† (In Hours)		
	Min- imum	Max- imum	Average	Min- imum	Max- imum	Average
100,000 and over	\$0.53	\$0.65	\$0.61	7.2	7.7	7.4
40,000-100,000	0.40	0.64	0.48	6.8	9.9	8.4
10,000-40,000‡	0.17	0.68	0.35	7.3	12.0	11.0

*Computed on the basis of the number of hours actually worked divided by annual compensation.

†Represents total hours worked annually divided by 364.

‡Based on returns from twenty-four cities out of a total of twenty-nine in this population group.

The wide range in wage payments in the cities from 10,000 to 40,000 is the result of two cities being located at each extreme; the average for the group, however, is definitely lower than in the larger cities. A similarly wide range is discovered when the length of the working day is considered. The standard forty-four-hour week required of municipal clerical employees is found to be much lower than the average length of the police work week. In the cities over 100,000 population the average length of the work week is 51.9 hours; for the cities from 40,000 to 100,000, 58.6; and in the 10,000 to 40,000 group, 76.8. A point deserving special attention is the twelve-hour day exacted in some cities without a single day off during the entire year. On the basis of a forty-eight-hour week, the average length of the working day would be approximately six and one-half hours, an ideal approached by no city.

Much has been said in recent years of government's assuming the leadership in raising employment standards and serving as a model employer. To arrive at some conclusion as to the relative compensations in industry and in the police service in Texas, a study was made of the average hourly wage, the average length of the work week, and the adjusted average annual wages paid in certain industries and to patrolmen (Table XXIV).¹⁷ The average hourly wage

¹⁷The data relating to private industry were obtained from the Bureau of Business Research of The University of Texas. The figures employed are those gathered by this agency in June, 1937, and employed in its monthly summary in the *Texas Business Review* for July, 1937. The data presented here and in the *Review* are not identical, however, because of the inclusion of certain industries

TABLE XXIV

WAGES AND HOURS OF WORK IN INDUSTRY AND IN THE MUNICIPAL POLICE SERVICE, 1937

Classification	Number of Workers	Average Hourly Wage	Average Weekly Hours	Adjusted Average Annual Wage
Industry:				
Manufacturing	39,278	\$0.581	42.1	\$1,394
Non-manufacturing	38,491	0.609	42.1	1,462
Total	77,769	0.595	42.1	1,428
Patrolmen:				
100,000 Population and Over.....	416	0.610	51.9	1,464
40,000-100,000 Population	206	0.480	58.6	1,151
10,000-40,000 Population	137	0.350	76.8	840
Total	759	0.402	69.2	964

paid to patrolmen in cities above 100,000 population is approximately that paid in industry. The cities in the population groups of 40,000 to 100,000 and 10,000 to 40,000, however, pay much lower hourly salaries than those paid in industry, and the average length of the work week in the police service is much higher than in industry. The average length of the industrial work week is little more than half that of patrolmen in Texas cities in the 10,000 to 40,000 population group. The average adjusted annual wage is higher in industry except for the five cities over 100,000 population. There is a particularly broad range in cities from 10,000 to 40,000 population. Even when the exceptions which must be made in this comparison are taken into account, it is evident that, with the exception of the five cities above 100,000 population, Texas patrolmen are paid a lower hourly wage and work much longer per week than do workers in private industry. In this instance,

which were not in the printed publication. The worker in the manufacturing industries does not include executives or supervisory positions; the worker in the non-manufacturing industries includes a small number of positions of this type. Any comparisons made from Table XXIV must be considered in the light of these variations. As the largest single group in the police department, the patrolman was selected as the most representative of the several ranks.

therefore, Texas cities in these population groups by no means are model employers.¹⁸

Tenure

Data relating to the tenure of personnel in cities over 40,000 population are shown in Table XXV. Tenure here is considered

TABLE XXV

TENURE IN YEARS IN CERTAIN POSITIONS, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Position	100,000 Population and Over		40,000-100,000 Population	
	Average Tenure in Present Position	Average Tenure in Department	Average Tenure in Present Position	Average Tenure in Department
Chief _____	2.8	13.2	5.1	12.4
Inspector _____	3.1	13.4	3.3	9.7
Captain _____	5.0	19.9	3.9	11.4
Lieutenant _____	3.8	15.2	1.0	1.0
Sergeant _____	7.7	14.0	3.5	7.0
Detective _____	6.1	11.2	5.5	9.5
Patrolman _____	7.2	9.9	5.6	6.6
Traffic _____	5.8	7.2	3.8	6.3
Auxiliary _____	3.8	7.2	1.9	5.4
Total _____	6.3	9.8	4.7	7.1

as to the length of service in the present position and in the police department. In the cities over 100,000 population there is a rather high average total tenure for all members of the department, the range being from 7.2 years in the auxiliary agencies and traffic division to 19.9 years for those holding the position of captain. A much shorter tenure is found in the higher supervisory positions, particularly in the instances of chief, inspector, and lieutenant. A person bold enough to accept a higher post in the police hierarchy usually can look forward to removal with a change in the office of the police chief. Tenure is much shorter in the cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population and this is particularly true of the

¹⁸There is every need to reemphasize the necessity of employing strict caution in comparing the wages paid and the hours worked in industry and in the police service. Variations in the classes of employees and the types of industries included preclude a homogeneous grouping similar to that of patrolmen in police ranks. Differences in the cost of living, in security of employment, and in the character of employment are additional factors which militate against a common basis.

personnel serving in the position of lieutenant or below. Unlike the larger cities, tenure appears to be impermanent at all levels within the department. In general it is only in the lower positions in cities over 100,000 population that security of tenure may be said to prevail.

Sources of Police Personnel

From what sources are individuals drawn into the police service? By classifying the various occupations on the basis employed by the Bureau of the Census a comparison is permitted in Table XXVI

TABLE XXVI

PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS OF PATROLMEN, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Classifications	100,000 Population and Over		40,000— 100,000 Population		10,000— 40,000 Population*	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Agriculture	50	6.4	33	8.3	29	21.9
Manufacturing and Industry	228	29.2	113	28.4	21	15.9
Transportation	106	13.6	69	17.4	12	9.1
Trade	207	26.6	99	24.9	42	31.8
Public Service	88	11.3	51	12.9	18	13.7
Professional Services ..	67	8.6	13	3.3	4	3.0
Domestic and Personal Services	32	4.1	13	3.2	3	2.3
Miscellaneous	1	.2	6	1.6	3	2.3
Total	779	100.0	397	100.0	132	100.0

*Based on information from ten of the twenty-nine cities in this population group.

for the three largest population groups. Variations in the sources of police personnel may be noted immediately. The five major cities (those over 100,000 population) tend to draw recruits from manufacturing and mechanical industries, trade, and transportation in the order named. The influence of the local residence rule may be assigned as the reason why relatively few policemen come from the ranks of agriculture, despite the large agricultural population of the state. Police personnel in the cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population is recruited from the same sources. This is not true, however, in the third group, comprising cities from 10,000 to 40,000 population. Here the most important sources are trade, agriculture, and manufacturing and mechanical industries. The public

service is also an important source in each population group. Almost without exception the occupations comprise those found at the lower rung of the industrial ladder. Very few persons enter from services which offer prospects of future advancement in the way of promotional and monetary advantages. Although there was a definite improvement of the personnel recruited during the depression, improved business conditions since have served to attract capable recruits elsewhere than to the police.¹⁹

From this brief consideration of police personnel it may be stated that Texas police departments on the basis of number of policemen per 1,000 population ordinarily are smaller than those of the nation; that compensation and work standards in industry are more favorable to the employee than in the police service; that tenure is reasonably high in the larger cities but much lower in the smaller cities, and particularly low in the case of those occupying a ranking position in the police hierarchy; and that the sources of Texas police personnel are found mainly in the trades, transportation, and manufacturing and mechanical industries. From the data available it may be concluded that the cities need to improve their wage scales, to reduce the number of hours worked per day, and to attract a higher type of recruit for the police service. It is evident that the conditions of employment in the Texas police service are by no means favorable, even in the largest cities.

¹⁹Based on statements made by examiners and chief clerks of civil service commissions.

CHAPTER IX

PERSONNEL (Continued)

PERSONNEL PRACTICES

Personnel management involves many responsibilities, beginning with recruitment and continuing until the final separation of the officer from the service through dismissal or retirement. Texas cities possessing formal merit systems place these responsibilities in large part on the civil service commission; in cities operating without personnel agencies such systematized personnel activities as are found are performed directly by the chief, save in those instances where partisan interference by the mayor or council in effect has reduced executive control by the chief to a nullity. To a brief review of these personnel programs attention will now be devoted.

Personnel Agencies

Even in those instances where the proponents of the merit system have secured the formation of a civil service commission, it by no means follows that a full-time personnel program has been launched. Until recently the secretary and chief examiner of the Fort Worth Civil Service Commission acted in a part-time capacity, his additional duties being those of clerk of the corporation court. The appointment of a personnel director in the early part of 1938 portends increased attention to the civil service in that city. In Houston the secretary of the commission is also the city treasurer. Recently the El Paso Civil Service Commission was reorganized and the former full-time secretary was replaced by a member of the fire department to serve on a part-time basis. Waco also has a part-time staff. The personnel in each of these cities is of sufficient size to justify the full-time attention of one or more individuals.¹

¹Personnel agencies in Texas cities receive very inadequate financial support. In 1935 the annual appropriations for the various civil service commissions in existence at that time were Houston \$6,000, Dallas \$5,424, San Antonio \$3,700, Fort Worth \$663, and El Paso \$565. The El Paso commission had as its secretary a deputy city clerk who gave most of his time to personnel affairs.

The police jurisdiction of the personnel agency in Texas cities varies. In Fort Worth and Dallas all members of the police department are in the classified service except the chief of police. El Paso and San Antonio place all members of the police department in the classified service with the exception of certain positions of a non-police nature. Houston and Waco exempt the chief clerk and the chief of police from the jurisdiction of the civil service commission.

Personnel Records

The maintenance of adequate personnel records constitutes the basis of a personnel program.² Among the cities with formal merit systems varying practices are found, although fairly complete police personnel records are maintained with one exception. In those cities above 40,000 population without a formal merit system, no records of any sort are found in three cities, while those maintained in the remaining five are inadequate. This deficiency in the primary matter of records is shown by the fact that in collecting personnel data for the purposes of this study it was necessary in nine of the fourteen cities above 40,000 population to distribute the personnel forms directly to the individual members of the departments. The information requested was not exhaustive, consisting only of such routine matters as present age, age at entrance, previous occupation, service with other law enforcement agencies, marital status, position, and disciplinary actions. Of 216 cities below 10,000 population, only 5 report the maintenance of any sort of personnel records. A complete personnel record system is a necessity in departments where the force is large enough to preclude an intimate knowledge by the chief of the qualifications of each individual.³

Classification and Salary

Standardization

Personnel classification and salary standardization have been applied more directly in the police department than in any other

²"The Files and Records of a Public Personnel Agency," *Public Personnel Studies*, III (July, 1925), 190-96.

³L. S. Timmerman, "Records as an Aid to Personnel Management," *Proceedings, Fortieth Annual Convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police* (1933), 289-93.

division of the municipal administration.⁴ Particularly in the cities having a formal merit system has the classification of positions been worked out rather definitely, although there are positions which carry duties not corresponding to the title in the classification list. The existence of classification plans is due in large part to the relative simplicity of the police hierarchy, though the classification of police duties grows more complicated with increasing specialization. In the eight cities between 40,000 and 100,000 population not having civil service commissions, classifications are reasonably indicative of the duties of the various members of the police personnel. A different situation prevails, however, with regard to the clerical positions, which are not subjected to accurate classifications. A recent survey of classification in cities of 10,000 population and over shows that 37 per cent make no effort to see that persons holding the same title perform approximately the same type of work.⁵ Classification is not of great moment in the smaller departments where, because of limited personnel and lack of specialization, each officer is expected to perform all types of duties.

Efforts to secure salary standardization have been made in cities with formal merit systems, although in few instances are salary ranges provided for each class. The usual course is to provide a fixed salary for a particular office with no advances in pay being possible except with promotion to a higher position. The goal of salary standardization is to provide maximum, minimum, and intermediate rates of pay so that length of service and individual efficiency can be taken into account in assigning compensation. No instance of the application of this principle is found in any of the Texas cities with the possible exception of Dallas, which has a charter provision specifying that salary increments in the police department for additional years of service shall be granted until the maximum sum of \$15 per month (plus the regular salary) is reached after twenty-five years of service.⁶ It is generally agreed

⁴See Civil Service Assembly and Bureau of Public Personnel Administration, *Classification and Compensation Plans* (Washington, 1928).

⁵R. Weldon Cooper, *The Texas Municipal Civil Service* (Austin, 1936), 87.

⁶*Charter of the City of Dallas* (1931), Sec. 78.

that length of service alone should not be the sole basis for increases in pay since this places a premium on one's ability to stay in the service instead of providing an incentive to perform in such a manner as to attract the attention of superior officers.⁷

Recruitment

The most important stage in the whole personnel process is that of recruitment, for it is at this point that the calibre of the police force is determined. The requirements for entrance into the police service vary with regard to such matters as residence, age, and educational qualifications. Of the six cities with formal merit systems, two provide an age range of twenty-one to thirty, two of twenty-three to thirty-five, one of twenty-one to thirty-five, and one of twenty-one to thirty-six. Two other cities provide age ranges of twenty-one to thirty-five and twenty-five to forty. The six remaining cities between 40,000 and 100,000 population have no definite age requirements.

TABLE XXVII

ENTRANCE AND PRESENT AVERAGE AGES OF THE POLICE PERSONNEL,
BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Position	100,000 Population and Over		40,000-100,000 Population	
	Average Entrance Age	Average Present Age	Average Entrance Age	Average Present Age
Chief	36.4	49.6	34.3	46.8
Inspector and Under Chief.....	31.3	44.5	37.7	49.0
Captain	31.6	49.7	38.2	50.2
Lieutenant	32.5	47.6	33.0	49.0
Sergeant	30.2	44.8	34.1	40.7
Detective	29.8	41.1	33.5	41.2
Patrol	31.4	41.7	35.8	42.5
Traffic	29.9	36.1	32.0	35.5
Auxiliary	30.1	37.2	29.3	35.1
Policewoman	40.0	51.8	—	—
Total	31.1	40.1	34.3	41.2

A study of the entrance age and present age of the police personnel in the cities above 40,000 population is presented in Table XXVII. For the cities above 100,000 population the average en-

⁷Salaries based on the cost of living continue to be attractive. See the proposal by J. A. Greening, "Police Salaries," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1937-38* (1938), 37-40.

trance age ranges from 29.8 to 36.4 years; in the cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population the range is from 29.3 to 37.7 years. The average entrance age exceeds thirty years, which is generally agreed to be too high for police recruits. Many authorities now recommend an entrance range of twenty-one to twenty-eight.⁸ The high entrance age for most positions in the police hierarchy strongly suggests that many of the occupants may have entered the police service after failure in other ventures.

Local residence as a prerequisite to appointment is almost a universal requirement. The fourteen cities above 40,000 require one year of local residence with the exception of Fort Worth and Dallas. A six-months' residence in Tarrant County is required in Fort Worth, and the Dallas rule is that preferential consideration must be given to applicants living within the city. Three of the cities in this group have gone so far as to pass ordinances prohibiting the employment of out-of-town people. In fact, none of the Texas cities above 40,000 population has permitted persons from outside the city to enter the service save in a few instances where the position was such that it could not be filled by any local applicant. Positions which have been filled in this manner are those of fingerprint identification officer and radio technician.

Educational standards have been prescribed in only three cities. Two of these specify completion of high school and one the completion of elementary school. The educational attainments of a portion of the police personnel in certain cities over 10,000 population are presented in Table XXVIII. For each of the three population groups approximately 50 per cent of the personnel received some high school education but did not finish.⁹ A negligible number of college graduates is found and only a relatively small proportion of the personnel has had any college training. Variations among the cities are of interest, some showing no members of the police personnel with more than a high school education. The failure to prescribe at least a high school education for entrance

⁸Donald C. Stone, "Standards of Police Recruitment," *Proceedings, Fortieth Annual Convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police* (1933), 59.

⁹In one city with a total personnel of thirty-five, none had finished high school and twenty-four had not completed elementary school.

into the police service definitely limits the chances of a police recruit's developing into a superior commanding officer; he lacks the necessary educational background becoming so increasingly essential in the new police administration¹⁰ If high school graduation, a not unreasonable standard, should be required for retention in the service, the ranks of the larger Texas departments would be depleted by half.

TABLE XXVIII

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS OF THE POLICE PERSONNEL, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Education	100,000 Population and Over		40,000- 100,000 Population		10,000- 40,000 Population		Total	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
Below Grade 7.....	157	14.2	82	21.5	9	7.0	248	15.4
Grades 7-11	542	49.0	196	51.4	71	55.9	809	50.1
High School Graduate..	269	24.4	78	20.5	38	30.0	385	23.9
One or More Years in College	126	11.4	21	5.5	8	6.3	155	9.6
College Graduate	11	1.0	4	1.1	1	.8	16	1.0
Total	1,105	100.0	381	100.0	127	100.0	1,613	100.0

Entrance into the police service in the cities with formal merit systems is determined primarily on the basis of written tests. The character of these tests is epitomized in the El Paso requirement that "All tests shall be practical and shall consist only of such subjects as will fairly determine the capacity of the persons examined to perform the duties of the position to which appointment is to be made. . . ."¹¹ Intelligence tests are used only in Dallas, which requires all applicants to take the Army Alpha test, and a failure to achieve an average score on this test places them at the bottom of the eligible list in the event they pass the general information test.¹² The O'Rourke adaptability test was employed by

¹⁰Donald C. Stone, *Recruitment of Policemen* (International Association of Chiefs of Police, Bulletin No. 1, August, 1938), 6.

¹¹*Code of Rules and Regulations of the El Paso Civil Service Commission* (1935), Sec. 23.

¹²Experiments in the mental testing of police recruits have been conducted periodically by the Detroit Police Department since 1921. After a study of these experiments it was concluded that "in general" the "Army Alpha or

Austin in 1937 in the selection of five police recruits.¹³ The subject matter of the examinations used in Texas cities generally relates to certain police practices, the geography of the city, and the structure of city, county, and state governments. Despite experiments with tests elsewhere and the general dissatisfaction with the traditional types of examinations,¹⁴ the latter continue to serve as the medium of police recruitment in Texas. With two exceptions the cities which do not have formal merit systems make appointments without examination or other tests.

Oral interviews are employed only in San Antonio, which allots 40 per cent of the total grade to this item. The evils of such an arrangement are evident, since it is extremely doubtful that a short oral interview can reveal much of a useful nature regarding the intelligence and ability of an applicant. Too much leeway is permitted for personal or partisan considerations. Physical examinations are given generally with the ordinary requirement that the applicant satisfy certain standards as to height and weight. Houston grants 30 per cent of the total grade to this item, a weight likely to overemphasize the matter of brawn.

Appointment

The power of appointment after the eligible list has been prepared is ordinarily vested in the city manager or mayor acting in conjunction with the chief of police. Few cities empower the police chief to appoint without the approval of the chief executive.¹⁵

other similar general intelligence test was the most useful method of selecting applicants for police work." John R. Searles and J. M. Leonard, *Experiments in the Mental Testing of Detroit Policemen* (Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, 1936), 26.

¹³See L. J. O'Rourke, "Selection and Promotional Examination and Tests of Police Personnel," *Proceedings, Forty-first Annual Convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police* (1934), 50-55.

¹⁴See the excellent discussion of this subject in Syracuse Municipal Research Commission, *The Selection of Patrolmen in Syracuse, New York* (1929).

¹⁵Of a total of 144 cities of all sizes in Texas, only 18 or 12.5 per cent permit appointment by the police executive without the intervention of a superior authority. Only two of the fourteen cities above 40,000 population allow unrestricted appointment. Appointments in the smaller cities must ordinarily be made by the city council; in the larger cities by the mayor or manager.

With one exception the practice is to submit three names for each vacant position to the appointing authority. In Houston the name highest on the eligible list is submitted to the appointing authority.

The Probationary Period

One of the most important stages in the personnel process is the probationary period prior to final appointment. Of the fourteen cities over 40,000 population, the eight without formal merit systems require no stipulated period of probation; in the remaining cities, three specify three months, two six months, and one twelve months. It is at this stage that the worth of the selecting machinery can be tested in light of the actual performance of the officer. Despite this important fact, however, only one city of the formal merit system group endeavors to exercise a definite supervision over the probationer. Dallas requires an efficiency report at the end of each thirty days, and before the expiration of the three months' period a form is sent to the ranking officer with the request that he testify directly as to the ability of the probationer to perform the duties of the position. With one exception the probationary period is too short, although some useful judgments can be made after observing an officer at work for a one-year period. There is every need for a rigid utilization of the probationary period as a final protection against incompetents. It should be provided that no probationer shall receive a permanent appointment except with the formal approval of the police executive.

Training

Police training has come to the fore rapidly in recent years and training programs have been inaugurated in a few of the larger cities. Alone among Texas cities Dallas has a preentry training program of fifteen days during which the prospective patrolman receives instruction as to the duties of an officer.¹⁶ Only two cities above 100,000 population at the present time have continuous post-entry training programs, and these are incomplete.¹⁷ Dallas em-

¹⁶See William J. Quinn, "Pre-Police Training," *San Francisco Police and Peace Officers' Journal of the State of California*, XIV (October, 1936), 5-6, 21.

¹⁷The scope of the departmental police training program is not broad, being concerned in the main with the principal routine duties. See, as examples,

employs two police instructors, one of whom has charge of the general program while the other instructs in the use of firearms. No reports are made in Dallas on the progress of the individual officers, and it appears that little recognition is accorded those who attain a high ranking in the police school. As a result, many officers have failed to continue their training studies. The most widespread criticism among the police is that the training program is conducted on off-duty time, which is felt to be unfair. The San Antonio program is conducted by one instructor, a graduate of the FBI National Police Academy.¹⁸ Only two of the nine cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population attempt any sort of training program and in these two instances the efforts are sporadic, being conducted not as a continuous program but from time to time as occasion permits.

To implement the recently aroused interest in police training, the (federal) George-Deen Act of 1936 included public occupations for the first time as vocations eligible to receive federal and state financial assistance.¹⁹ Under the general provisions so far outlined, the program is designed to aid in the training of teachers who can return to offer instruction in their own departments. Various arrangements may be made for individual, regional, and state-wide schools. Instructional methods are to be based on those previously employed in vocational training for industrial pursuits. The importance of this move in assuring adequate financial support for municipal police training may serve to overshadow the question whether police training can be conducted along the same lines as industrial training. If the policeman is, in part, a "social worker,"²⁰ the necessity of training the police in the day-to-day routine should

El Paso Police Department, *Training Course* (1935); and State Department of Vocational Education and Texas League of Municipalities, *Report of Conference to Determine Needs for Police Training* (1937).

¹⁸Four officers from Texas police departments have completed the training course offered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Federal Bureau of Investigation, *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, VI (September 1, 1937), 15-19.

¹⁹Department of the Interior, Office of Education, *Training in the Police Service* (1937). See also C. F. Klinefelter, "Use of Federal and State Funds for Police Training," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police*, 1937-38 (1938), 21-27.

²⁰Cincinnati Regional Crime Committee, *The Cincinnati Police Beat Survey* (American Public Welfare Association, 1937), iv.

not preclude attention to post-entry training, entrance requirements, and other factors affecting the character of the police service.

The role of institutions of higher learning in police training remains undetermined. The inflexible local residence rule and the absence of a public demand for the adoption of a professional attitude by the police service militate against collegiate courses of instruction designed to prepare persons for entrance into police work.²¹ The beginnings of this type of training are to be found at San Jose State College, Michigan State College, University of Wichita,²² University of California, and other institutions. The significance of these experiments, as they must be characterized, in the progressive development of police administration can scarcely be overemphasized.²³ The construction of a professionalized police force depends in part on the direct participation of the colleges and universities. Yet to train individuals at the collegiate level without some assurance of employment or to overload the lower ranks of the police hierarchy with superior recruits unable to secure promotion is to invite future difficulties. Careful attention to placement and a recognition of the benefits to be obtained from collegiate instruction must be had if the university is to be accorded a place in the police training program.

²¹A careful consideration of national developments in the field of police training may be found in the Final Report of the Regents' Examining Committee on the Police Training Project, *Survey of Police Training* (University of Minnesota, 1937).

The duties of the police have developed in recent years with a resultant expansion of the training curriculum. For example, a competent patrolman is required to possess a knowledge of how to perform approximately 150 different activities. California Department of Education, *Job Analysis of Police Service* (1933), 2-23.

²²E. J. Hanson, "Police Cadet Training," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXVII (November-December, 1936), 568-73.

²³O. W. Wilson, "Police Selection and Training," *Proceedings, Forty-first Annual Convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police* (1934), 40-44.

One proposal has been made for the establishment of a National Police Academy financed by the Federal Government and modeled after West Point and Annapolis. Andrew J. Kavanaugh, "Police Tenure and Police Personnel," *Proceedings of the Attorney-General's Conference on Crime* (Washington, 1934), 439-41.

Promotions

Promotions in the Texas municipal police service are made in a number of ways. In most of the cities with formal merit systems promotional examinations are employed by the civil service commission. Dallas utilizes promotional tests, seniority, and efficiency ratings in determining the eligible list. Accompanying this is a personal estimate by the chief of police as to the worth of the employee. Promotions in San Antonio are made without an examination by the commissioner of fire and police, who is limited only by the requirement that a person shall have served at least two years in the next lowest position. Fort Worth uses promotional examinations with the stipulation that the person must have served at least six months in the next lowest position. Uniformly promotional examinations are limited to the positions of sergeant and lieutenant; above that rank unrestricted promoting authority is generally conferred on the chief. A study of promoting practices in twenty-one Texas cities below 100,000 population shows that one uses service ratings, six employ seniority alone, seven base promotions on seniority and past performance as evaluated by the chief, and seven permit unrestricted promotion by the police executive. When examinations are employed as the sole basis for promotion, the executive is deprived of authority to reward capable individuals who may not be intimately acquainted with the duties to which they aspire.²⁴

Service Ratings

Service ratings to measure the ability and effectiveness of policemen in the performance of their duties have been employed in the six cities with formal merit systems. With one exception, however, these efficiency ratings have proved unsatisfactory in that they are almost completely subjective in character and their use is regarded more as a formality to comply with the civil service rules and regulations than as a useful device in measuring performance and

²⁴Promotional examinations in Texas cities are usually directed toward specific tasks to be required of the successful candidate. For a discussion of achievement and promotion in the police service, see William Kerr, "A Record of Achievement as a Basis for Promotion," *Police Chronicle and Constabulary World*, No. 136 (June 18, 1937), 8-9.

ability.²⁵ Dallas formerly employed the Probst system, but after some months of use a different rating scale was adopted. This scale is that recommended for use in the New York City civil service by Samuel H. Ordway, Jr., and John C. Laffan.²⁶ The Dallas Civil Service Board reports that the "new efficiency rating plan has met the approval of all supervisory officers and practically one hundred per cent approval of the employees in every department. The fairness of the system impressed itself upon both the employees and their supervisory officers."²⁷ Houston employs an activity record consisting of a detailed account of the number of arrests made by each officer, with varying weights attached to each violation in proportion to its seriousness. A monthly minimum level is prescribed which all officers must reach. The use of this system as a measure of police efficiency places a premium on arrests and offers no usable guide to the performance of the officer. The use of arrests as the sole index of police performance has long been discarded; for an officer's ability rests in part on his tact and diplomacy in handling matters which never reach the stage of arrest or formal charge.

Removal Procedures

Different methods are utilized in effecting removals from the police service. Of twenty-two Texas cities between 10,000 and 100,000 population, eleven provide for removal by the city manager on the recommendation of the chief of police with the dismissed employee having the right of appeal to the city council; six municipalities of the mayor-council type permit the mayor and chief of police to remove with the right of appeal to the governing body; and five cities allow removal only by action of the city council. In the six cities having a formal merit system the prevailing rule is to permit the chief or city manager to remove with the restriction that written charges outlining the reasons for such action

²⁵See William Brownrigg, "Service Ratings—An Unsolved Problem," *Civil Service Observer*, II (April, 1934), 40-44.

²⁶Samuel H. Ordway, Jr., and John C. Laffan, "Approaches to the Measurement and Reward of Effective Work of Individual Government Employees," *National Municipal Review*, Supplement, XXIV (October, 1935), 559-69.

²⁷Dallas Civil Service Board, *Annual Report, 1935-1936* (1936). 1.

must be submitted to the personnel agency. The employee is given the right to appeal from this action either to the civil service commission or to a special trial board. Ordinarily such removals are upheld by the trial boards, although San Antonio forms an exception in view of the fact that the trial board is made up of two city councillors and a member of the civil service commission. This arrangement permits extraneous influences to play a definite part in the removal process; the councillors may hesitate to vote for removal in view of possible reprisals at the polls, except in the most flagrant cases.

Retirement Systems

Retirement systems providing pensions for police employees are found in Dallas, San Antonio, and El Paso.²⁸ As yet Houston has not established a retirement plan authorized by charter amendment in 1933. The present pension systems are of the joint-contributory type, and the benefits paid range from one-half of the base rate of a patrolman's pay in Dallas to one-half of the salary received at the time of retirement in El Paso and San Antonio. These funds were not established on an actuarial basis and by reason of the accrued liability all have had or will have difficulties. San Antonio's pension system, formerly a year behind in payments, is now receiving a portion of the parking meter revenue and is currently meeting its obligations. This method of financing pension payments is of course wholly unsound. The folly of establishing a pension system without qualified technical assistance was revealed by an investigation of the Dallas pension fund in 1933, which showed that according to the scale of payments prevailing at that time the city would have to set aside a fund of \$1,000,000 earning not less than 4 per cent to provide pensions on the basis originally prescribed.²⁹

²⁸For a discussion of retirement systems, see William E. Mosher and J. Donald Kingsley, *Public Personnel Administration* (New York, 1936), Chap. XXII.

²⁹J. L. Mims, *An Actuarial Survey of the Dallas Pension Fund* (1933).

Dallas found it necessary to reduce pension payments. *General and Special Laws of Texas, Forty-fourth Legislature, First Called Session* (1935), Vol. III, Chap. 387, pp. 1565-72. Legislative power to reduce pension benefits was upheld in *City of Dallas v. Trammel*, 101 S.W. (2d) 1009 (1937).

EXECUTIVE CONTROL OF PERSONNEL

The Departmental Personnel Unit

Since police and personnel management are in large part indistinguishable, it follows that the police executive must exercise direct control over personnel. In so doing, however, the desires of the chief to take care of his own personnel problems must be squared with the policy of the mayor or manager and these in turn with that of the civil service commission. The presence of civil service commissions in six of the fourteen Texas cities above 40,000 population severely limits executive control of personnel. Despite these limitations the executive has the responsibility for some aspects of personnel administration. In cities without independent personnel agencies the chief ordinarily plays a dominant role in the selection of personnel,³⁰ although even here a dynamic mayor or commissioner may circumscribe the authority of the chief.

Regardless of the amount of authority which may be vested in an independent personnel agency, there is a real need, in departments with a sufficient number of men, for a separate personnel unit.³¹ In cities with a limited police personnel, these duties will perhaps devolve directly on the police chief. While the extent to which the chief will be able to provide a departmental personnel program will depend in part on local resources, there can be little doubt that the five departments in cities above 100,000, ranging in size from 92 to 326, are sufficiently large to justify the creation of a departmental personnel unit. In cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population,

³⁰The personnel policies of one city of approximately 63,000 population are sufficiently at variance with usual practices to deserve specific mention. With a total force of fifty-five, of which thirty-one are patrolmen, the chief finds it necessary to make two or three replacements each year. The local high schools and junior colleges are relied upon almost exclusively for recruits, with the chief making personal investigations of each prospect through consultation with teachers, examinations of scholastic records, and character investigations. No consideration is given those who make formal applications. The personnel of the department has been materially strengthened since the inauguration of this policy.

³¹See A. J. Altmeyer, "The Scope of Departmental Personnel Activities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLXXXIX (January, 1937), 188-91.

whose total police strength ranges from twenty-two to seventy-four, the advisability of creating a departmental unit is more doubtful. In these departments the duties pertaining to personnel may be performed by one of the ranking auxiliary officers in conjunction with his regular functions. Such attention as is devoted to personnel in the cities from 10,000 to 40,000 population, with police departments ranging in size from four to thirty-four, will ordinarily be given by the chief alone.

The duties of a police personnel unit will vary according to the general personnel program of the city. Two examples are found in Texas cities of definitely organized units of this type. In Dallas the departmental personnel program is directed by a captain of personnel responsible to the inspector of the headquarters division. In Waco part of the duties of a lieutenant in charge of the patrol division relate to personnel. The duties of the Dallas personnel officer include (1) the direction of the police training school, (2) the keeping of all departmental personnel records, (3) the reporting to the chief of the aptitude, performance, and progress of probationary officers, and (4) the receipt and investigation of complaints against members of the department before referring them to the trial board.³² The Waco personnel officer's duties relating to personnel matters are not sharply defined, since his activities as a commanding officer in the patrol division require a major portion of his time.

Recruitment

The services of a departmental personnel unit might well begin with recruitment.³³ If this phase of the personnel process is administered by a civil service commission, the departmental unit can be of real assistance in working with the personnel agency in a liaison capacity in order to keep the needs of the police department before that agency. If the responsibility of recruitment devolves on the department, as is the case in eight of the fourteen cities

³²Dallas Police Department, *Rules and Regulations* (1932), Rule 25.

³³Departmental personnel units, under an immediate subordinate of the executive, have been proposed for Boston and Chicago. See Leonard V. Harrison, *Police Administration in Boston* (Cambridge, 1934), 64, and Citizens' Police Committee, *Chicago Police Problems* (Chicago, 1931), 23-25.

TABLE XXIX
SEPARATIONS FROM THE POLICE SERVICE IN CERTAIN CITIES*

Cities	Total Strength of Force	Dismissals		Resignations		Retirements		Deaths		Total Separations	
		Number	Per Cent Turnover	Number	Per Cent Turnover	Number	Per Cent Turnover	Number	Per Cent Turnover	Number	Per Cent Turnover
Houston	329.6	13.4	4.1	6.9	2.1	1.3	0.4	6.3	1.9	27.9	8.5
Dallas†	266.4	10.8	4.1	6.6	2.5	6.8	2.5	2.6	1.0	26.8	10.1
San Antonio	230.0	2.6	1.1	2.1	0.9	0.4	0.2	2.0	0.9	7.1	3.1
Fort Worth	210.7	7.3	3.5	3.7	1.8	0.4	0.2	2.0	0.9	13.4	6.4

*The computations are based on an annual average for the period 1930-1936.

†The data for Dallas cover a five-year period, 1932-1936.

above 40,000 population, the duties of this unit will expand to encompass the entire personnel process. On the basis of a seven-year average (1930-1936), police replacements are required each year to the number of twenty-eight in Houston, twenty-seven in Dallas, fourteen in Fort Worth, and seven in San Antonio (Table XXIX). While the number to be recruited in the lesser cities is much smaller, nevertheless the recruitment function remains important.

Training

Police training is not regarded as a duty of the civil service commission and hence this important phase of personnel work is left solely in the hands of the department. It would seem that full-time schools could be maintained in the five major departments; training in the smaller departments must be carried on periodically and in conjunction with other municipal officials, such as the city attorney and health officer. In these cities the training facilities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, State Department of Public Safety, and neighboring departmental schools may be employed.

Discipline

A third service to be rendered by the departmental personnel unit relates to discipline. Disciplinary actions arise constantly in the day-to-day activity of the police executive and some agency which can serve in an investigative capacity is imperative if intelligent decisions are to be made. Over a seven-year period (Table XXX) the annual average number of disciplinary actions, including suspensions, reductions, and dismissals, ranged from over one-sixth of the total force in Houston to a little more than one-twentieth in El Paso. The total number of disciplinary actions was probably higher than indicated, since the seven-year computation represents only those cases in which definite punitive action was taken. The large number of disciplinary actions in some departments indicates that the standards of recruitment are not sufficiently rigorous.

In departments which have reached the stage of specialization, the amount of time required to dispose of disciplinary cases makes it imperative that the chief be given assistance. Dallas has organized a departmental trial board consisting of at least eight

TABLE XXX
DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS AFFECTING THE POLICE PERSONNEL IN CERTAIN CITIES*

Cities	Suspensions		Reductions		Dismissals†		Total Number of Men	Per Cent of Force
	Number of Men	Per Cent of Force	Number of Men	Per Cent of Force	Number of Men	Per Cent of Force		
Houston	16.6	5.0	20.1	6.1	14.6	4.4	51.3	15.5
Dallas‡	10.2	3.8	3.0	1.1	12.0	4.5	25.2	9.4
San Antonio	20.6	8.9	3.9	1.7	5.2	2.3	29.7	12.9
Fort Worth	5.0	2.4	1.4	0.7	7.6	3.6	14.0	6.7
El Paso	4.9	5.3	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.1	5.4	5.9

*The computations are based on an annual average, 1930-1936.

†Includes indefinite suspensions and forced resignations.

‡The data for Dallas cover a five-year period, 1932-1936.

members of the department with the departmental personnel officer acting as chairman.³⁴ This board assists the executive in hearing and deciding complaints against members of the department. The trial board sits in a body to hear the complaint and the answer of the defendant, and prepares a report to the chief containing its recommendations. A board of this character, although possessing no final authority, may be employed with profit, since it permits a direct contact between the subordinate and the superior officers and places a portion of the responsibility for disciplinary action on the shoulders of the rank and file.

Other Activities

The departmental personnel unit will also be concerned with a number of general welfare activities. It will make arrangements for vacations, check malingering, provide recreational facilities, and perform other activities of a similar character. While these duties are not the most important of those falling to the departmental personnel unit, they offer possibilities for the improvement of police morale and are therefore worthy of close attention by the police executive.

The Personnel Director

The most important administrative aide of the police chief is the departmental personnel director. In departments where the number of employees is sufficient to require the time of one or more full-time individuals, the director should be attached to the office of the executive. To place the personnel director under the control of the heads of primary units whose actions, as they relate to departmental personnel, he will subsequently be called upon to review would be to create confusion. The heads of the primary divisions do not possess a technical knowledge of personnel management and have little inclination to give detailed consideration to personnel matters. Their primary concern is that of building up a favorable divisional record.

Despite the desires of some police executives, and perhaps department heads in general, to be freed from the restrictions of the formal merit system now in vogue, it is evident that complete

³⁴Dallas Police Department, *op. cit.*, Rule 269.

departmental autonomy cannot be defended if integration of the entire municipal administrative structure is to be achieved. The current trend toward closer integration no doubt will enhance the importance of the departmental personnel unit. The creation of the latter came when it was realized that many questions concerning police personnel could not be answered or cared for by the central agency. There are, then, useful spheres of activity for both central and departmental personnel units. The former serves the mayor or manager, the latter the police chief. Each is closely related to the other and both are indispensable in the process of management.

CHAPTER X

RECORDS

An adequate record system serves the same purpose in a police organization as the accounting division in general administration. Just as the daily, monthly, and annual reports of the finance officer indicate to the mayor or manager the current financial status of the city, so do the reports made to the police executive enable him to detect possible weaknesses in the police program and marshal his forces to meet new problems. Records, then, supplement the efforts to improve the personnel and form a most important police auxiliary service. As one police executive has said: "The record bureau is, in a sense, the nerve center of a police department, as is the record bureau of most other large organizations. The proper accumulation and use of records are fundamental to a thorough understanding of the police problems of any city and to a sound attack on those problems."¹ In another instance the conclusion was that "An adequate and effective record system is indispensable to the efficient management of any police department; it is the backbone of the police force."²

The term "records" as used in this study has been defined broadly to include all permanent records of police activities maintained by a department in the conduct of its duties. Under this definition records include case records, criminal records, fingerprint records, traffic records, correspondence, officers' reports, and other information kept in the current files and archives of the police unit.³ This broad definition has been decided upon despite the current practice in Texas cities of separating criminal identification from the records division and placing the former under an independent head. Identification records, consisting largely of fingerprint files, do not

¹August Vollmer, *Survey of the Metropolitan Police Department of Kansas City, Missouri* (1929), 138.

²Cincinnati Bureau of Municipal Research, *A Record System for the Cincinnati Police Department* (Report No. 10, 1928), 1.

³For a brief discussion of the scope of police records, see The (New Jersey) Commission to Investigate County and Municipal Taxation and Expenditures, *Local Police Protection, Services, and Costs* (Report No. 7, 1932), 40-43.

differ materially from records of stolen property, stolen automobiles, and other files kept for property identification purposes. As will be shown, there is every need for a unification of the permanent records of the police in one location.

Separation of Records and Identification

The practice in many police jurisdictions of effecting a rigid separation of records and identification is due in large part to the confinement of the activities of the patrol division to a narrow field and the failure to require patrolmen to investigate certain minor offenses. In general the practice in Texas cities is to require all duties attaching to criminal investigation to be performed by the detective division. An experience in one city deserves recounting as it furnishes a clear example of the exclusion of the patrol division from any sort of investigative activity. On answering a call a pair of radio patrolmen found a hit-and-run case and after a brief questioning obtained the license number of the automobile involved in the collision. This offense occurred during the night while the detective division was closed. Despite the fact that the patrolmen knew the owner of the car and could have closed the case by an immediate arrest, it was necessary for them to leave this information for the attention of the detectives who came on duty the following morning. The necessity of permitting the patrolmen to complete the investigation in this instance goes without question. Instances of this type are common in the larger cities with separate detective divisions.

A second factor which has contributed to the feeling of separatism is the type of physical plant found in many cities. In the construction of the police building or the police quarters no attention has been given, save in a few instances, to the necessity of maintaining a record division easily accessible to the remaining divisions. Where the building arrangements are such that the detective division is far removed from the record division, or perhaps even located in a different building, the reason for the maintenance of separate permanent record files in various locations is understandable. The installation of a central division containing

all police records awaits in part, therefore, a rearrangement of the quarters housing the police department.⁴

The Role of Police Records

The services rendered by an adequate record system are manifold and are intimately related to the entire police process.⁵ The primary function of a record system is to assure the proper investigation of all complaints. In the pursuit of this function the police investigator must have available an adequate file which will permit the identification of criminals and property and the apprehension of criminals through a study of their methods of operation, a service performed by *modus operandi* files. Throughout the investigative procedure, recourse must constantly be had to police records in order to relate current crimes to those committed in the past.⁶

One of the most important services of an adequate record system is to provide a more intelligent exercise of administrative control by the chief of police and subordinate officers.⁷ There is a definite need for control of criminal investigations and disposition of arrests. In addition, records must be maintained in order to measure the activities of the department for their effectiveness. In this respect records are useful in computing the number of men needed to perform the various police activities, and in obtaining a proper distribution of the available police personnel. Addi-

⁴One Texas city is currently enlarging and remodeling its city hall. The present unsatisfactory layout of the police quarters seems likely to be continued as police experience and needs have not been considered in the formulation of the new plans.

⁵See Public Administration Service, *Survey of the Police Department of Greenwich, Connecticut* (1937), 75-76; Donald C. Stone, "Practical Use of Police Records System," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIV (September-October, 1933), 668-78; Vollmer, *op. cit.*, 142-46; and Wichita Police Department, *Duty Manual* (1935), 58.

⁶C. S. Morrill, "The Value of Police Records," *Proceedings, Fortieth Annual Convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police* (1933), 302-04; William A. Toler, "Police Department Identification Bureaus," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1936-37* (1937), 112-15.

⁷See the excellent article by O. W. Wilson, "The Use of Records in Administering Police Activities," *City Manager Yearbook, 1933* (1933), 152-60.

tional administrative uses of the record system are the selection of the best men for particular tasks and their promotion, the discovery of unusual police problems, the determination of the amount, type, and distribution of equipment, and the analysis of traffic accidents and violations. Certainly the record system must provide the chief of police with the requisite knowledge if he is to have at his fingertips the information necessary in planning and directing the work of the various divisions under his command.⁸

A third major service rendered by a complete record system is found in the basis it provides for analyses of offenses committed and the offenders responsible for certain types of crime.⁹ If sufficient information is available studies may be made of crime conditions for purposes of prevention. This aspect of police work has received relatively little attention in the past, although the increasing recognition of its importance is attested by the trend toward the installation of crime prevention bureaus in departments throughout the country.

Finally, no police department can present its case to the public unless the record system is so organized as to furnish a complete picture of police activities.¹⁰ Police records furnish data for the public reports of the department, make information available for news stories, and provide the criminal statistics required by the periodical Uniform Crime Reports made to the Federal Bureau of

⁸A descriptive statement of conditions in another jurisdiction is equally applicable here: "The Chicago Police Department has long since passed the stage of development where its business can be conducted on a memory basis. In large measure this has been recognized, and a considerable bulk of records has been installed from time to time. Yet they are viewed merely as memoranda of things reported or accomplished, which in due course will find their way into the annual statistical report. Almost without exception, the value of such records as instruments of control has been ignored or neglected." Citizens' Police Committee, *Chicago Police Problems* (Chicago, 1931), 214.

⁹See A. H. Bledsoe, "The Uniform Crime Reports of the FBI—A Yardstick for the Police Executive," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, VII (August 1, 1938), 14-23.

¹⁰As the police constitute one of the most troublesome of the several purpose divisions of the municipality, the city manager is intensely interested in the record division. See Bruce Smith, "Police Record Keeping and Reporting," *City Manager Yearbook*, 1931 (1931), 148-55.

Investigation of the United States Department of Justice.¹¹ For these reasons, therefore, a complete record system may be said to be an imperative requirement of an efficiently administered police department.

Record Organization and Activities

In view of the auxiliary nature of the record division it is evident that it must be located in the administrative structure near the police executive. To place records under the immediate supervision of a primary division is to confuse the lines of responsibility and impede the operation of the record unit. The official in charge of records, who must perform certain supervisory duties, obviously should not occupy a position subordinate to those supervised. Nor should a barrier be interposed between the record division and the police executive.¹² There is also the further fact that the location of the record unit under a primary division tends toward a monopolization of record services by that division. Under such conditions independent record systems multiply throughout the department.

If it is imperative that the record division be independent of the primary units, it follows that the officer in charge of records must be on a plane of equality with the heads of the patrol, criminal investigation, traffic, and special divisions. While to be effective the record division must be located in close physical proximity to

¹¹Uniform Crime Reports have been compiled since 1929. See L. D. Upson, "Uniform Police Records," *Proceedings of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the Michigan Municipal League* (1929), 23-30.

¹²The antagonism toward the divorce of records from the criminal investigation division is illustrated by the experience of the Citizens' Police Committee of Chicago in its efforts at reorganization of the Chicago Police Department in 1930. Originally committed to the separation of records from the detective division, the Committee found itself unable to overcome departmental opposition and finally consented to the existing arrangement in order to eliminate further delay in reorganization. The Committee stated, however, "that the crime records system here proposed can never attain its greatest effectiveness so long as it is operated by a line agency such as the detective bureau. The maintenance of records is a staff function, and the current audit of police operations which they facilitate, can be effectively conducted only by a staff unit." Citizens' Police Committee, *A Manual of Crime Records Procedure for the Chicago Police Department* (Report No. 6, Revised Draft, 1930), 3.

the primary units, in the police hierarchy it is placed directly under the supervision of the police executive. It is by no means necessary to impose police experience as a prerequisite for appointment to the post of director (or captain) of the record division. In view of the manifold daily activities of the record division in any large police department, the director should possess some knowledge of criminology, criminal law, and the methods involved in the preparation of reports. It has been said that this office requires "a man who has executive ability, administrative initiative, a knowledge of office and records procedure, and a general appreciation of the broad field of criminal justice of which police administration is an integral part."¹³ It is doubtful if even a few of the departments possess such a man, or indeed if such a one could be located in any save the largest cities.

In view of its strategic administrative position, the record division, particularly in the smaller police departments, may embrace all the auxiliary services. Under this arrangement, in addition to its normal duties, the record division is responsible for (1) communication, (2) identification, including such laboratory work as is done by the department, (3) property records and stores, (4) the issuance of such licenses as may be required of the police, (5) the preparation of pay rolls, and (6) police training.¹⁴ The scope of the personnel activities of the record division will depend primarily on the existing local arrangements. Such a combination would relieve the police executive of the routine involved in supervising the activities of several agencies and permit him to devote increased attention to supervision and coördination of the primary divisions.

¹³Cincinnati Bureau of Municipal Research, *op. cit.*, 6.

¹⁴International Association of Chiefs of Police, *Manual of Police Records* (1931), 5.

In Greenwich, Connecticut, with a total force of sixty-two, records, communication, and identification have been combined under a superintendent directly responsible to the chief of police. The duties of this division are (1) maintenance of police records, (2) criminal identification, (3) property identification, (4) custody of property, (5) operation of central complaint desk, (6) maintenance of radio, and (7) communication. Public Administration Service, *op. cit.*, 5.

Diverse practices are found in Texas departments as regards the location and organization of the record function. Separate divisions devoted to records have been created in three of the five cities over 100,000 population. Dallas maintains a record bureau under the immediate supervision of a chief clerk who is responsible to the captain of identification and records. The El Paso bureau of records and identification is directed by a superintendent under the control of the captain of detectives. Fort Worth maintains no separate record bureau, such records as are kept being found in the identification division. Identification and records are separated in Houston. The record bureau is headed by a senior clerk under the supervision of the chief clerk of the department. San Antonio likewise maintains a record bureau distinct from the identification bureau; both are located in the detective division. No department in the population group from 40,000 to 100,000 maintains a separate record bureau, although each has created a division devoted to fingerprint identification.¹⁵ While no consistent organizational pattern is found in the smaller cities, it may be said that in general records are maintained by the secretary of the department, the desk sergeant, the detective captain, or the superintendent of identification.¹⁶

When measured by the criteria previously proposed for a police record system, those found in Texas cities over 40,000 population fail to achieve a satisfactory mark. Even in the five departments in cities over 100,000 population, it is discovered that only one city has set up records under a single director on a par with identification, and even here the preference of the director for identification places that portion of the record system in a paramount position. The general practice of locating the record unit in the criminal investigation division has served to limit the usefulness of records

¹⁵Two cities in this group assign a portion of the time of one employee to the preparation of the Uniform Crime Report.

¹⁶No instance of the employment of automatic sorting and tabulating equipment is found in Texas record systems. Large and small cities alike are adopting this mechanical device to facilitate the use of police records. See the report of the record division in Berkeley Police Department, *Annual Report, 1933-34* (1934), and Los Angeles Police Department, *Annual Report, 1936-37* (1937), 42.

in the work of the remaining primary divisions. The auxiliary-primary distinction applies with special emphasis in the case of records.

The personnel of the records and identification divisions of the several cities is recruited from various sources. Patrolmen or persons with police experience are employed in El Paso, Fort Worth, and San Antonio. In Dallas and Houston civilians are employed in the record bureau and persons with police experience in the identification bureau. In the smaller cities without exception patrolmen are used for records and identification work. The total number of record division employees in Texas cities above 40,000 population is given in Table XXXI. Here it may be noted that

TABLE XXXI

RECORDS AND IDENTIFICATION PERSONNEL IN CITIES OVER 40,000 POPULATION,
1937*

Population Group and City	Number in Identifi- cation Division	Number in Record Division	Total
100,000 Population and Over:			
Dallas	8	8	16
El Paso	3	---	3
Fort Worth	6	---	6
Houston	5	7	12
San Antonio	3	1	4
40,000-100,000 Population:			
Amarillo	1	---	1
Austin	3	1	4
Beaumont	3	1	4
Corpus Christi	1	---	1
Galveston	1	---	1
Laredo	1	---	1
Port Arthur	1	---	1
Waco	2	---	2
Wichita Falls	2	---	2

*Desk sergeants are excluded. In those cities not showing employees in the record division, the identification division takes care of such records as are maintained.

Houston and Dallas alone among the five major cities maintain a personnel of sufficient size to provide the required records. El Paso, Fort Worth, and San Antonio have a small number of employees, most of whom are concerned primarily with criminal identification.

In the nine departments in cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population, only two employ more than two persons in their record and identification bureaus. Of these nine cities, five have only one person to care for the combined tasks of identification and records. It is not necessary to make an analysis of the duties performed by these persons to justify the statement that the record system is fragmentary except perhaps for that portion relating to criminal identification.

The Handling of Complaints

Since a large majority of the offenses known to the police come to their attention through persons outside the police department, the method of handling complaints and insuring police attention is of primary importance. If the police are to possess a complete knowledge of the incidence of the crime load there must be a complete record maintained of all complaints coming to police attention. This comprises something more than the requirements of the uniform crime reporting system of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Texas departments do not maintain a complete record of complaints; only the more serious offenses are tabulated. Complaints ordinarily come to the attention of the police through the officer designated for this purpose; in Texas cities and elsewhere he is known as the desk sergeant. In cities where complaints of concern to the detective division are reported directly to that division the routine varies. In Dallas and San Antonio, for example, complaints are routed directly to the detective secretary, who makes assignments according to the nature of the offense. In other instances, as in Houston, the complaint goes directly to the special detail in the detective division handling the offense in question. Under this disintegrated system effective control over the several agencies engaged in investigation is difficult if not impossible. The use of radio in dispatching police officers has tended to effect a centralization of complaints and a more effective control, but the failure to record all complaints prevents any inclusive determination of the volume of police activities.

Responsibility for the receipt of complaints should be centralized in the hands of one individual or office to which all persons desirous of seeking police assistance could be referred. Under the present

plan of record administration in Texas cities this would be the desk sergeant, who is on duty at all hours. All complaints, irrespective of their nature, should be recorded by the desk sergeant, who would fill out the offense report, assign a serial number, and make the necessary assignment of the case for investigation. More serious offenses, usually felonies, should be referred to the commanding officer of the detective division for attention.

Variations in Police Records

In view of the diversity of opinion concerning police records, it is not surprising that the types of records maintained by Texas cities differ greatly. This variation is illustrated in tabular form in Table XXXII. All departments in cities above 40,000 popula-

TABLE XXXII

TYPES OF POLICE RECORDS MAINTAINED IN CITIES OVER 40,000 POPULATION, 1937*

Type of Record	100,000 Popula- tion and Over		Cities Maintaining Records 40,000-100,000 Population		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Fingerprint	5	100.0	9	100.0	14	100.0
Traffic	5	100.0	9	100.0	14	100.0
Arrest	5	100.0	8	88.9	13	92.9
Stolen Auto	5	100.0	7	77.8	12	85.7
Stolen Property	4	80.0	7	77.8	11	78.6
Photograph	5	100.0	6	66.7	11	78.6
Offense Report	5	100.0	5	55.6	10	71.4
Modus Operandi	4	80.0	4	44.4	8	56.6
Personnel	5	100.0	2	22.2	7	50.0
Crime	1	20.0	---	---	1	7.1
Store Report	---	---	1	11.1	1	7.1

*Credit was given for a particular record if efforts were being made to maintain and use it currently. No attempt at evaluating its completeness was made.

tion maintain fingerprint and traffic records; the remaining types of records are found in varying degrees. The most extensive records are maintained in the larger cities, although the records noted are useful in the operation of all departments in cities above 40,000 population. The record systems in the smaller cities are delinquent particularly in store reports, crime records, personnel records, *modus operandi* files, offense reports, and photographs. The absence of personnel records is especially noteworthy. In some of the departments which are given credit for possessing a

certain type of record, the system is incomplete and is not being used to the best advantage.

Dispersal of the Record Function

Although it is imperative that records be maintained in a central location,¹⁷ an examination of current practice in cities above 40,000 population reveals a tendency toward dispersal of the record function. Permanent record files in various divisions of the department are found to the number of sixteen in San Antonio, fourteen in Dallas, thirteen in Houston, seven in Fort Worth, and five in El Paso. In Dallas, for example, permanent records maintained outside the record bureau include those kept by the secretary of the department, jailor, jail supervisor, detective division, auto theft bureau, homicide squad, "bunco" squad, vice squad, property clerk, traffic bureau, identification bureau, desk sergeant, and radio dispatcher. Dallas is by no means unusual in this respect, for a similar lack of unification may be found in other cities in the group above 100,000 population. In the smaller departments a similar tendency toward dispersal is found except that the number of permanent record files is smaller. Where no one individual is charged with responsibility for the administration of the record system, extreme difficulty is encountered in compiling reports, obtaining information, and otherwise using the record system in the pursuit of police business.

Reports

While some Texas police departments maintain record systems which are extensive, it may be said that the chief of police fails to utilize the available information to advantage. For example, only one city compiles consolidated daily and monthly reports, which are necessary if the chief is to have a current summary of police activities. The form which this daily consolidated report should take has been outlined by the International Association of Chiefs of Police.¹⁸ The daily report includes an account of the number

¹⁷Committee on Uniform Crime Records, International Association of Chiefs of Police, *Uniform Crime Reporting* (New York, 1929), 76-79.

¹⁸"Uniform Crime Reports, Consolidated Daily and Monthly Reports," Federal Bureau of Investigation, *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, VI (September 1, 1937), 24-30.

of offenses known to the police, an analysis of the persons charged according to the uniform classification of offenses, an analysis of traffic cases, and a personnel report showing the effective strength of the department and the reasons for the absence of various members. The monthly report includes such items as the distribution of personnel, changes in personnel, daily average patrol strength, number and disposition of offenses known to the police, value of property stolen and recovered, auto thefts and recoveries, an analysis of persons charged by the police, an analysis of traffic accidents, and an account of miscellaneous services rendered. The monthly report shows comparative figures for the current and last preceding years. As has been stated, "The monthly report will serve as a very valuable aid to the chief in administering his force. For example, a large decrease in the number of burglaries cleared by arrest may indicate faulty distribution of the force, lack of training, improper discipline, or inadequate personnel. . . . In brief, the monthly report is as significant to police administration as the monthly operating financial statement is to a large industrial corporation."¹⁹

TABLE XXXIII

CITIES FILING UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS FOR 1936, BY POPULATION GROUPS*

Population Group	Total Number of Cities	Number of Cities Making Reports	Percentage of Cities Making Reports	Percent- age of Total Group Population Included in Cities Making Reports
100,000 and over	5	5	100.0	100.0
40,000-100,000	9	7	77.8	82.5
10,000-40,000	29	15	51.7	60.9
3,500-10,000	92	23	25.0	27.1
Total	135	50	37.0	75.2

*Based on information supplied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Three cities below 3,500 population which made reports are not included.

The inadequacy of the record systems is further revealed by the number of cities reporting offenses known to the police. Table XXXIII shows the number of Texas cities filing uniform crime

¹⁹Committee on Uniform Crime Records, *op. cit.*, 36. See also Institute of Public Administration, *Survey of the Pittsburgh Bureau of Police* (1937), 107-09.

reports with the Federal Bureau of Investigation for 1936. Only those cities above 100,000 population submitted a complete report; below this level the percentage decreases in the smaller cities until only one-fourth in the population group from 3,500 to 10,000 reported.²⁰ Similarly, as shown in Table XXXIV, the returns

TABLE XXXIV

CITIES INCLUDING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS HELD FOR INVESTIGATION IN THEIR UNIFORM CRIME REPORTS FOR 1936, BY POPULATION GROUPS*

Population Group	Total Number of Cities	Cities Making Report		Percentage of Total Group Population Included in Cities Making Reports
		Number	Per Cent	
100,000 and over.....	5	4	80.0	72.4
40,000-100,000	9	6	66.7	72.7
10,000-40,000	29	5	17.2	19.3
3,500-10,000	92	4	4.3	4.1
Total	135	19	14.1	49.2

*Based on information supplied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. One city below 3,500 population is not included.

showing the number of persons held for prosecution are also incomplete. One city above 100,000 population failed to make this report, and the percentage decreases until only four, or 4.3 per cent, of those in the population group from 3,500 to 10,000 reported.

Fingerprint Exchanges

The emphasis on fingerprint identification has resulted in a much larger percentage of exchanges with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (Table XXXV) and the State Department of Public Safety (Table XXXVI). Complete returns are made to the state and federal

²⁰Uniform Crime Reports continue to be incomplete. Only one state, Minnesota, has filed returns for every urban police department and sheriff's office. Federal Bureau of Investigation, *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, VI (August 1, 1937), 30. The complete returns in Minnesota were effected by a state law which compels all law enforcement agencies to file monthly returns with the Minnesota Bureau of Criminal Apprehension.

TABLE XXXV

FINGERPRINTS RECEIVED BY THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FROM
TEXAS CITIES, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1936*

Population Group	Total Number of Cities	Cities Contributing		Number of Prints Contributed
		Number	Per Cent	
100,000 and over.....	5	5	100.0	11,857
40,000-100,000.....	9	9	100.0	5,299
10,000-40,000.....	29	19	65.5	3,434
3,500-10,000.....	92	25	27.2	1,201
1,000-3,500.....	224	10	4.5	129
Total.....	359	68	18.9	21,920

*Based on information supplied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

agencies by the cities above 40,000 population and by almost two-thirds of those in the 10,000 to 40,000 population range. The lack of specialization in the departments in cities below 40,000 population is indicated by the small number which are regular contributors to the federal and state fingerprint identification agencies.

TABLE XXXVI

FINGERPRINTS RECEIVED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY FROM TEXAS
CITIES, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1935-1937*

Population Group	Total Number of Cities	Cities Contributing		Number of Prints Contributed
		Number	Per Cent	
100,000 and over.....	5	5	100.0	7,665
40,000-100,000.....	9	9	100.0	13,364
10,000-40,000.....	29	18	62.1	5,368
3,500-10,000.....	92	19	20.7	1,405
1,000-3,500.....	224	3	1.3	42
Total.....	359	54	15.0	27,844

*The period covered is September 1, 1935, to March 1, 1937. Based on information supplied by the Texas Department of Public Safety.

Reporting Regulations

The failure to utilize existing records is due in no small part to the lack of any standardized regulations as to the usage and disposition of the various types of reports and records maintained. No Texas city has prepared a manual of reporting regulations outlining the purpose of each report, directions as to the information required, and the routing of the report to the record division.²¹

²¹For an example of this type of reporting manual, see Wichita Police Department, *Reporting Regulations* (1937).

Until this is done reports will be made ordinarily without a clear conception of their use and may be incomplete and of little value in administrative control.

The Follow-up System

Closely connected with the lack of reporting regulations is the absence of a follow-up system in Texas police departments. The duties of the follow-up officer, who will ordinarily be found in the record division save in the largest departments, are to check and file all complaints to insure their handling in a proper and expeditious manner.²² All reports filed by officers investigating a complaint should be checked by the follow-up officer with a view to locating any delinquencies in the investigation and reporting these to the proper superior officer. Under this system a close surveillance is maintained over all complaints necessitating police action and the follow-up officer must be satisfied that all possible leads have been investigated before the case is finally and officially closed.

The work of the follow-up officer is auxiliary in character. He does not exercise any direct control over investigation; his primary duty is to check, not to supervise. Control of investigations is the duty of the commanding officer of the primary division involved. It will be clear therefore that the duties of the follow-up officer place a premium on tact and diplomacy. He must be careful to keep within the limits of his jurisdiction, and, at least in all save the largest departments, he should be responsible directly to the captain of the record division. It is the duty of the captain to answer all complaints concerning the action of the follow-up officer. In Texas cities certain officers in some instances attempt to exercise this duty; but as it is usually the detective captain, who is concerned with other matters, cases generally are closed on the advice of the investigating officer. Under these circumstances no assurance can be had that all possible action has been taken on any particular case since it is disposed of without an independent audit.

²²O. W. Wilson, "Controlling Police Investigations Through a Follow-Up System," *Public Management*, XIV (June, 1932), 189-93. See also League of Kansas Municipalities, *Outline of Instruction, Police Training School* (Report No. 106, 1936), 94.

Once scorned as "paper work," police records have come to be recognized in progressive quarters as indispensable in police management. The lack of a single centralized record division in any Texas city is indicative of a general failure or unwillingness to retreat from the older practice of depending on memory for information. While there is a general acceptance of criminal identification files, especially fingerprints, little attention has been directed toward the much broader field of records. The record division as yet has not been admitted to full-fledged membership in the police department.

The police phase of public management will be retarded as long as there is failure to recognize the urgent need for adequate records. Police practices which were originally initiated on the basis of personal estimates and have become a traditional part of the regular routine may, and in many instances will, fail to muster the necessary proof of their usefulness when weighed in the balances of the record division. Many discoveries in scientific beat construction, patrol methods, tactics, and other police problems await the time when the data are at hand to permit intelligent judgment. One police executive has correctly remarked that "most of the secrets of the correlations existing between the many factors involved in the complicated [police] problems still lie hidden away in police records waiting to be dug out by research and labor and polished up as principles of the new police science."²³

²³O. W. Wilson, "The Use of Records in Administering Police Activities," *op. cit.*, 160.

CHAPTER XI

COMMUNICATION

The interest of the police executive in communication has increased in recent years as a result of a number of factors which have magnified the police problem both in intensity and in territorial scope. While a police communication system must satisfy a number of needs, the major purposes are to supply (1) a convenient means of contact between the police and the public, (2) the necessary transfer of information and orders among the various police divisions, and (3) a medium by means of which the municipal police may be kept informed of the activities of state, federal, and other local police agencies.¹ Communication therefore is another auxiliary service of the police organization which serves to complement those of personnel and records.

In the following discussion of police communication, the technical aspects of the problem will be ignored except in so far as reference to certain types of equipment is necessary to instance a lack of communication facilities. It is the purpose here to discuss (1) the development of police communication, with some attention to the various devices employed; (2) the extent to which modern systems of communication have been made available for the use of Texas police departments; and (3) the administration of communication in cities throughout the United States and more particularly in Texas.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLICE COMMUNICATION

The Telegraph

The advent of electrical systems of communication followed by only a few years the organization of municipal police departments in the United States. The first device which supplemented the written and spoken word in police communication was the electric

¹Police communication in many cities is coördinated with the fire alarm system of the fire department. See Charles Berst, "Municipal Emergency Communication, Radio—Police Signaling—Fire Alarm," *Municipal Signal Engineer*, II (July—August, 1937), 9-10, 30.

telegraph, the possibilities of which for police use were first realized in England in 1845.² It was not until 1867, however, that the telegraph was adopted as an integral part of the police communication system in American cities by the installation of telegraph police boxes. The original telegraph police box resembled a fire alarm box of the present day. It consisted of a mechanism which transmitted a telegraphic code signal to police headquarters, where the information was recorded on a tape. This development was of vital significance; for it made available for the first time a method which permitted the patrolman, formerly isolated on his beat, to communicate with headquarters and receive assistance.³ Although the telegraph police box did not solve the problem of communication from headquarters to the patrolman, nevertheless from this time a closer control over the activities of the patrolman was made possible.

The Telephone

The invention of the telephone in 1878 and its later widespread adoption made possible for the first time the reference of complaints directly to a permanent police station rather than to an individual officer on his beat. Every telephone installation became a potential alarm station, and no longer was it necessary for the citizen to spend time in an often fruitless search for a patrolman. While the dispatching of assistance from the station might still be delayed, at least the police were notified of the complaint. The steady growth in the number of telephone installations has greatly increased the ease of citizen contacts with the police. In the United States the number of telephones per 100 population grew from 1.76 in 1900 to 13.69 in 1935.⁴ In Texas the number of telephones per 100 population increased from 2 in 1905 to 13.6 in 1928.⁵ Moreover, the focal point for the registration of complaints tended to change from the patrolman on the beat to police headquarters.

²E. H. Glover, *The English Police* (London, 1934), 124-25.

³V. A. Leonard, *Police Communication Systems* (Berkeley, 1938), 9.

⁴National Resources Committee, *Technological Trends and National Policy* (Washington, 1937), 218.

⁵Southwestern Bell Telephone Company, *Economic Survey of Texas* (Saint Louis, 1928), 102.

For this reason it was necessary that provision be made for the handling of incoming calls; and with the growth in the volume of complaints in the larger cities, switchboards for the proper routing of such calls became necessary.

Recall Devices

An improvement over the police telegraph box was made in Chicago in 1878 by combining the features of the telegraph and telephone in one box. These boxes were successful in facilitating police communication, and their use spread to other cities. In addition, various signaling devices later came to be employed to attract the attention of the patrolman on his beat. Audible devices such as bells and horns were placed at strategic locations throughout the cities in order that headquarters or the precinct stations might attract the attention of the patrolman and notify him of an emergency in his locality. Visible signals using lights also came to be employed.⁶ The various methods used, however, did not guarantee instantaneous communication with the patrolman once he had left headquarters, and for that reason the search continued for an improved method of police communication from headquarters to the patrolman.

Precinct Organization

As the area and population of cities continued to increase, police departments came to be organized on a geographical basis inasmuch as it was no longer possible, with the modes of communication and transportation then available, to provide adequate police protection from one central headquarters building. These districts, commonly known as precincts, were formed ordinarily with little scientific justification as to need, and their supervision and coordination with the general police program became an increasingly difficult problem of police administration. Essentially a device which deployed police personnel in the immediate area where it was needed, the precinct station often tended to become a miniature

⁶Leonard, *op. cit.*, 17-20. See also Milton Chernin, "The Need and Development of Police Communication Systems," *Western City*, XI (June, 1935), 11-12, 35-36; and National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *Report on Police* (1931), 86-93.

police department enjoying almost complete independence from headquarters control.

The Teletypewriter

One of the causes of this latter development was the lack of a speedy method of communication between headquarters and the precinct stations. The telephone met this need in some respects, but the necessity of repeating a single message individually to each of the various precinct stations resulted in the loss of considerable time and in mistakes in transmission. The teletypewriter, a device providing for the instantaneous reproduction of messages typed on a machine at headquarters in all places having a receiving instrument, was adopted in Boston in 1927 and since that time has been placed in use in nineteen of the larger cities of the country.⁷ Cities which were not large enough to require separate precinct organizations have utilized the teletype for communication with other departments in a state-wide or regional system.

Radio

The latest scientific aid to be adapted to police communication needs is the radio telephone, which bids fair to revolutionize police organization and police tactics.⁸ As late as 1930 only 4 cities in the United States employed radio for police purposes,⁹ while on January 1, 1937, 474 cities in the United States had installed and were using police radio in their programs of crime control.¹⁰

⁷American Telephone and Telegraph Company, *Communication Systems of the Police Departments of the United States* (1931).

⁸The Detroit Police Department began to experiment with radio in 1921 but did not succeed in adapting it for police purposes until 1928. W. P. Rutledge, "The Birth of Police Radio," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police*, 1936-37 (1937), 104-08. See also Donald S. Leonard, "Police Radio Communication," *ibid.*, 94-104; "Police Radio," *Police Chiefs' News Letter*, IV (April, 1937), 1-3; The Gamewell Company, *Police Radio Systems* (1937), 1-10; and National Electrical Manufacturers' Association, *Useful Information on Police Radio Systems* (1935), 5-14.

⁹National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, *op. cit.*, 88.

¹⁰Based on information contained in releases of the Federal Communications Commission, dated June 1, 1937. The rapid growth of police radio communication systems is continuing, although at a somewhat reduced rate.

Originally adapted for "one-way" communication between headquarters and the motor patrol unit, the radio has recently undergone improvements which have made possible the installation of "two-way" systems by means of which conversations may be held between headquarters and the motor patrol. This latest development marks the end of the isolation of the beat patrolman. Except in the larger cities, where certain technical problems are not yet solved, two-way communication has greatly increased the potential patrol abilities of motor policemen and has made possible the release of officers from reserve duties. Non-motorized police officers, such as the foot patrolman, continue to depend in large part on traditional signalling devices.¹¹

Regional Communication

With the increasing need for a more intimate relationship among the various law enforcement agencies in a particular region, communication facilities have kept pace by utilizing the teletype, telephone, and radio for regional communication. Several states have devised teletype hook-ups providing communication among several municipal police units which in turn are connected with the state police system. The most recent development in intercity communication has been the adoption of radio communication for that purpose.¹² Although police radio systems were originally licensed by the Federal Communications Commission for the primary purpose of providing communication between police headquarters and mobile units within the city, as early as 1932 several police radio telephone stations began to use these facilities for intercity communication. The Federal Communications Commission in September, 1936, recognized the need of police intercommunication

¹¹Portable receiving sets to be carried by officers on foot seem to be in the offing as the next extension of the police communication system. See American Municipal Association, *Municipal Police Radio Systems* (Report No. 89, 1934), 12-12A; C. J. Forward, "Police Pocket Wireless," *The Police Journal*, IX (London, 1936), 351-65; W. J. Hutchinson, "Brighton Police Pocket Radio," *Police Chronicle and Constabulary World*, No. 157 (November 12, 1937), 5. Rutledge (*op. cit.*, 107) predicts that "The time will come when every individual policeman on the beat will be equipped with a small radio receiver and be directed by radio orders."

¹²Edwin Lee White and E. C. Denstaedt, "Police Radio Communication," *Electrical Engineering*, LVI (May, 1937), 548.

by radio and granted formal permission for the use of police radio telephone stations for this purpose. With the need for intercity communication thus recognized, the installation of police radio telegraph stations was authorized, and by May 15, 1938, the Communications Commission had licensed thirty-six departments to establish stations of this type.¹³

THE STATUS OF POLICE COMMUNICATION

The Handling of Complaints

Despite the various developments which have occurred in the domain of police communication, the telephone remains the most useful source of contact between the public and the police. For that reason the efficient handling of incoming telephone calls must occupy an important place in any police communication system.¹⁴ A study of the communication facilities in the larger Texas departments reveals that few have given adequate attention to the handling of complaints. In the five cities over 100,000 population none has an improved system for the speedy disposition of incoming calls. The most undesirable system is that found in the Fort Worth department, which does not have a private branch exchange but instead has eight separate telephone lines with different numbers which are in the offices of the various ranking officials. Complaints under this system may be received by any of half a dozen officers, with a consequent delay which may be costly and which certainly adds

¹³Release of the Federal Communications Commission, dated May 15, 1938. Since January 1, 1938, intercity communication has been limited to radio telegraph.

¹⁴In the larger police departments the expeditious handling of incoming telephone calls, many of which relate to matters requiring prompt police attention, raises serious questions of engineering. For a description of the communication system of the Los Angeles Police Department, see California Department of Education, *Job Analysis of Police Service* (1933), 116-19. The Chicago central complaint room is described in Citizens' Police Committee, *Chicago Police Problems* (Chicago, 1931), 201-02. Proposals for a central complaint system for Pittsburgh are given in Institute of Public Administration, *Survey of the Pittsburgh Bureau of Police* (1937), 97-103. A much simpler system is found in the smaller departments where it is possible to concentrate the various communication facilities at one point. For a description of the Berkeley police communication system, see Chernin, *op. cit.*, 12.

to citizen irritation. PBX systems have been installed in Dallas and Houston but the arrangements are still incomplete. In both departments a citizen desiring to make a complaint must first tell his story to the PBX operator and then repeat it in Dallas to the desk sergeant, and in Houston to the radio dispatcher. In addition to incoming calls the PBX operators in both cities are required to handle intradepartmental telephone communications, and this at times results in an over-loading which prevents prompt attention to complaints.¹⁵

The communication system in San Antonio is somewhat better than that of Houston and Dallas in that the PBX operator is not required to handle intradepartmental calls, which are taken care of by a private automatic exchange. As in Houston and Dallas, however, the complainant must tell his story to both the telephone operator and the desk sergeant, who dispatches the radio patrol cars.

In the nine cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population the best provisions for handling complaints are found in Beaumont and Galveston. In both cities the communication facilities of the police department are centralized in the desk sergeant's office from which radio dispatching is conducted. A complaint is given prompt attention if the offense is of sufficient gravity to justify such action. It should be noted, however, that several of the cities in this group do not have enough trunk lines available for incoming calls. For example, Austin has only two telephone lines for use by the police department. When both lines are busy a citizen desiring to make a complaint is not able to reach headquarters. Even if no damage results, the citizen is irritated by the delay.

Available Police Telephones

The extent to which police telephones are available for incoming calls is shown in Table XXXVII. In most instances the number of telephone outlets has not been based on any study of need but instead on the amount of money which the city is willing to spend.

¹⁵A recent occurrence in one city is in point here. A citizen noted a holdup in progress and telephoned the police station. At that particular time a number of intradepartmental calls were being made, with the result that the telephone operator failed to receive the correct address. Radio patrol cars were dispatched to the wrong address and the offender escaped.

TABLE XXXVII

POLICE TELEPHONES AVAILABLE FOR INCOMING CALLS, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937*

Population Group	Number of Cities Reporting	Number Minimum	Number of Telephones Maximum	Average	Cities with Police Telephones	
					Number	Per Cent
100,000 and over	5	4	30	11.9	5	100.0
40,000-100,000	9	2	7	3.0	9	100.0
10,000-40,000	23	1	4	1.9	15	65.2
3,500-10,000	42	1	5	2.0	28	66.7
Total	79	1	30	3.0	57	72.2

*The telephones counted as available in Beaumont, Dallas, El Paso, Galveston, Houston, and San Antonio are based on the number of incoming trunk lines. In all other instances the actual number of telephones is used.

As a result some of the cities are seriously handicapped by lack of sufficient telephone lines. The character of the police service in one-third of the cities between 3,500 and 10,000 population is indicated by the fact that there are no telephones, which generally is another way of saying that these departments do not have permanent police headquarters. Calls for assistance must be relayed from another office in the city hall. Under such conditions prompt attention to matters requiring police action is impossible.¹⁶

Intradepartmental Communication

Intradepartmental police communication is concerned with sending messages (1) among various divisions of the police department, (2) from headquarters to beat patrolmen and precinct stations, and (3) from beat patrolmen and precinct stations to headquarters.

¹⁶Police departments in the United States have not devoted as much attention to citizens' complaints by telephone as have English departments. A systematic program is under way in England at the present time to provide telephones at various points throughout the city which will serve as media for contacting the constable and at the same time permit citizens to register complaints at the central station. This program is based on the principle that "the public themselves can be in great measure an unpaid auxiliary constabulary." J. R. Hembrough, "Police Communications," *Police Chronicle and Constabulary World*, No. 87 (June 28, 1936), 6. The public thus far, however, has not utilized the system to the extent expected. E. Rogers, "Has the Box System Fulfilled Its Purpose?" *ibid.*, No. 133 (May 28, 1937), 6-7.

Despite the improved facilities which are available for communication among divisions of the police department in the same building, most of the Texas departments which have reached a degree of specialization and size requiring attention to such matters possess inadequate equipment. Only one of the five cities over 100,000 population has a private automatic exchange; the remaining cities, with one exception, employ PBX operators. In that instance no provision is made for interoffice communication and it is necessary to dial through an outside exchange to communicate with a person in the next office. Only two of the nine cities between 40,000 and 100,000 population maintain a PBX board for handling interoffice telephone communication.

The best method of communication with beat patrolmen is the radio telephone which, as has been noted, is being rapidly adopted by police departments throughout the country. As shown in Table XXXVIII some twenty-seven cities in Texas, half of which are

TABLE XXXVIII

MUNICIPAL POLICE RADIO STATIONS, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1938

Population Group	Total Number of Cities	Cities Having Police Radio Stations	
		Number	Per Cent
100,000 and over	5	5	100.0
40,000-100,000	9	8	88.8
10,000-40,000	29	11	37.9
3,500-10,000	92	3	3.2
Total	135	27	20.0

over 40,000 population, have installed police radio as a regular part of their communication systems. Only one city in this population group has failed to install a police radio. The cost factor has precluded the use of radio in the smaller cities, although approximately 40 per cent of the cities from 10,000 to 40,000 population have made installations. Only three cities below 10,000 population in Texas have provided police radio communication. The police radio, then, continues to be confined to the larger cities.¹⁷

¹⁷The limited number of police frequencies available has raised serious questions as to their allotment in metropolitan areas with a concentration of municipalities, each desiring its own radio communication system. Under

In addition to the police radio, various visible and audible recall systems have been employed by police departments to facilitate communication with beat or motor patrolmen. The extent to which Texas cities have adopted lights, sound devices, and call-boxes is shown in Table XXXIX. Recall boxes are found in all of the five

TABLE XXXIX

AVAILABLE RECALL DEVICES, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Group	Number of Cities Reporting	Recall Num-ber	Lights Per Cent	Sound Num-ber	Devices Per Cent	Call-Boxes Num-ber	Per Cent
100,000 and over.....	5	---	---	---	---	5	100.0
40,000-100,000	9	---	---	---	---	4	44.4
10,000-40,000	23	8	34.8	1	4.3	---	---
3,500-10,000	42	6	14.3	4	9.5	---	---
Total	79	14	17.7	5	6.3	9	11.4

cities over 100,000 population, although actually they are employed principally to communicate with traffic officers in the downtown section of the city. The substitution of motor patrol for foot patrol has contributed to the decline in the use of the call-box. Visible and audible recall devices are not employed in any city above 40,000 population and by only a few of the smaller cities. These devices do not constitute a very important part of the communication systems of Texas police departments since in only one population group are they found in as many as one-third of the cities.¹⁸

Intercommunication between headquarters and precinct stations is not a problem of major importance in Texas departments since Houston is the only city with geographical precinct subdivisions. Formerly several of the larger departments were organized along precinct lines, but the installation of radio, the supplanting of foot by motor patrol, and the necessity of retrenchment during the depression combined to bring about their abandonment. In Houston

such conditions the use of a central transmitter has been proposed. See, for example, John W. Woelfle, *The Problem of Police Radio in Essex County, New Jersey* (1936).

¹⁸In the larger cities alarm systems maintained by private companies are connected with the office of the desk sergeant so that police assistance may be immediately available. Few private alarms are found in cities below 100,000 population.

the telephone forms the communication link between headquarters and the three precinct stations, and as all complaints are registered at headquarters, communication between headquarters and the precinct stations relates to matters of a routine nature.

The most revolutionary development in police communication in recent years is two-way radio, which permits instantaneous intercommunication between headquarters and the motor patrol. This advance over the older one-way radio system occurred with the development of transmitters small enough to permit installation in automobiles. Under this system the motor patrolman is instantly available for call to duty anywhere in the city and at the same time can call on headquarters for information or for assistance.¹⁹ The use of two-way radio systems in both small and large cities and the relatively low cost of installation give weight to the prediction that this means of communication will be adopted eventually by all cities providing continuous police service. Such a development will have important consequences for the police organization and the communication system, since recall devices will not occupy as prominent a place in the communication set-up then as now. At the present time four Texas cities have installed two-way radio and efforts are under way to secure its adoption in other cities. There is every indication that two-way radio communication has become a permanent and a most important part of the police communication system.

One of the most important consequences of the recent conscription of radio for police purposes is that for the first time an effective communication system is within the means of the smaller cities.

¹⁹The adoption of two-way radio communication for police purposes has occurred in cities of various size. The conversion of one-way into two-way police radio systems has come with astonishing rapidity in recent months. Questionnaire returns from eighty cities with two-way radio systems in July, 1937, show that 50 per cent have been installed since the beginning of 1936. Significant also for police purposes is the fact that installations are found in cities of various sizes, 10 per cent of the eighty studied being below 10,000. The problems connected with two-way communication, as area, interference, etc., are not as difficult of solution in small as in large cities, with the result that at present two-way radio communication is more adaptable to police needs in small cities than in large. See E. G. Conroy, "Two-Way Police Radio Communication," *Texas Municipalities*, XXV (January, 1938), 3-7.

Even the latest development, two-way radio, is within reach of and can be effectively employed by small departments formerly confined to visible and audible recall methods which at best were uncertain and time-consuming. In this respect, then, the minor department is enabled to provide a type of police service not hitherto possible, and consequently additional avenues of accomplishment are opened to the police executive in these cities.

Interdepartmental Communication

In providing for a closer relationship with outside law enforcement agencies, the primary goal is a reliable, speedy, and secret communication channel for the handling of a considerable volume of day-to-day routine messages, and for the widespread dissemination of information in the event of an emergency.²⁰ Teletype systems have been used by cities in other states, though none is found in Texas at the present time. Some Texas cities have been licensed to operate a radio telegraph and others doubtless will enter the field shortly.

The building of a communication system designed to link the major cities of the state in one network, however, is dependent on the development of a state-wide plan by the State Department of Public Safety. Although the legislation setting up the Department of Public Safety provided for a bureau of communication, to date no money has been made available, with the result that the state police communication system at present consists only of a limited teletypewriter subscriber service connecting four of the twelve regional stations of the Department with its Austin headquarters. With the probable future creation of a communication system by the Department of Public Safety which will embrace the larger cities of the state, some beginnings may be made toward state-wide communication under a single direction, thereby making available to municipal police departments information which at present is not disseminated in any systematic fashion.²¹

²⁰E. G. Conroy, "Police Communication in Texas," *Texas Municipalities*, XXI (September, 1934), 218-22.

²¹State police organizations utilize both teletype and radio in their communication systems. Kansas Legislative Council, *State Police* (1934), 26-32.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF COMMUNICATION

Location and Scope of Communication

As the police have adopted one communication improvement after another, a small but important division of the police organization has come to be concerned with communication. In the communication division in the larger police departments may be found the telephone, teletype, radio, and various signaling devices employed for purposes of recall and communication with the beat patrolman. So long as police communication was confined primarily to the telephone, the question of its location and administration, while important, was not overly complex. Ordinarily the head of the patrol or uniform division was given supervisory responsibility over communication since such methods as were employed were designed to handle incoming calls and to provide facilities for keeping in touch with the beat patrolmen.

The rapid growth of police communication, however, and the adoption of several communication devices have combined to force the formation of a separate communication unit in the larger departments where specialization prevails. Under such conditions the communication division should include all persons concerned with the telephone, teletype, radio, and signal devices of the department. Where the organization is of sufficient size to justify an auxiliary unit on a plane of equality with personnel and records, the communication division should be separated from the remaining auxiliary units. In the smaller departments the administration of communication might well be combined with that of records and identification. This arrangement would amalgamate under a headquarters division all units engaged in furnishing auxiliary services.²²

²²The ideal of a unified communication division is attained in but few departments, although those which have been surveyed and reorganized in recent years show a definite tendency toward such an amalgamation. In Berkeley the radio engineer is responsible directly to the chief of police and is completely removed from any direct supervision by a primary officer. Berkeley Police Department, *Annual Report, 1933-34* (1934). The Chicago survey proposed the creation of a signal division with supervision over radio and telephone, as one of five divisions combined into a records and property bureau under the departmental secretary. Citizens' Police Committee, *op. cit.*, 25. In the Los Angeles Police Department the communication division

Texas Communication Systems

The development of communication as a permanent auxiliary service in Texas police departments has received little thoughtful attention. As is too often the case, communication has been treated as merely another service to be administered either by creating an independent unit or by placing it under the direction of a primary division. Prior to the installation of police radio systems the scope of communication was limited to the telephone, signaling devices, and telegraph. The few departments employing telephone operators ordinarily placed them under the control of the chief of police or the electrical division of the municipal engineering department. With the adoption of radio the divisions responsible for its administration came into existence as independent units answerable in most instances directly to the police executive, without reference either to the other communication devices or to the complaint system of the department.

Since the various communication facilities have not been consolidated in Texas departments, responsibility for their administration is divided among a number of officials. In Dallas communication administration is split between a radio division, composed of a superintendent and four operators under the supervision of the patrol captain, and four telephone operators handling the PBX police switchboard who are subject to the captain of records and identification. An independent radio division is found in Houston consisting of a superintendent, three operators, and three dispatchers. The superintendent is responsible for the maintenance and operation of

is a separate unit under a deputy chief. The division combines radio, telephone, teletype, telegraph, and the Gamewell system under a communication officer directly responsible to the deputy chief. Los Angeles Police Department, *Annual Report, 1936-37* (1937), 9. The recommendations of the recent San Francisco survey, which have been enacted into practice, were that the telephone, radio, and teletype facilities be combined as a division of the bureau of criminal information. In addition to communication this bureau also include records. The director of the bureau of criminal information is directly responsible to the chief of police. Opie L. Warner, "Reorganization of the San Francisco Police Department," *San Francisco Police and Peace Officers' Journal of the State of California*, XXV (March, 1937), 6. While these reorganizations reveal many variations, a definite tendency may be noted toward a unification of the various communication facilities.

the radio system and the dispatching of police calls. The police PBX switchboard and the police Gamewell system, however, are under the control of the city electrician. In this department two important links in the police communication system are outside the police organization.

In San Antonio the radio division is likewise organized independently of the other communication facilities and is under the direct control of the chief of police. The telephone operators and radio dispatchers form a part of the patrol division. In addition, responsibility for the maintenance of radio receivers is under the superintendent of shops. The El Paso radio division comprises a superintendent and three operators. The telephone operators and radio dispatchers, on the other hand, are supervised directly by the chief of police. In Fort Worth one radio technician is employed; the three radio dispatchers included in the patrol division, licensed as third-class operators, discharge the joint duties of radio operators and dispatchers.

The communication facilities in the cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population also lack unification. In the smaller municipalities the radio division ordinarily consists of one technician who is responsible for the operation and maintenance of the radio system. The dispatchers and operators are usually recruited from the members of the police force. Few cities in this group employ telephone operators; the desk sergeant ordinarily performs these duties.

Unification of Communication Facilities

With the adoption of radio as a permanent, and in many instances the most important, part of the police communication system, it is now in order to unify the various communication facilities under a single individual responsible directly to the chief of police. Under this type of organization, which is found in no Texas city, the communication division would be permitted to assume its rightful position as one of the vital auxiliary services. The communication division as an auxiliary service under a separate head would be able to study the communication needs of the department and suggest modifications, reorganizations, and adaptations in the existing communication structure. Particularly is this responsibility important at the present time, in view of the rapid adoption

of police radio by large and small cities throughout the state. Police communication is closely related to the complaint system, methods of beat patrol, scientific beat construction, and other problems of police administration. Under these circumstances the police executive is definitely in need of a trained person technically qualified to advise and assist in the installation of communication devices. Without such qualified assistance amateurs are likely to shape the police communication system, with the consequence that it will fail to answer police needs.

Communication as presently administered may be said to constitute one of the weakest links in the chain of police service. The facilities provided in the larger cities for citizen contact with the police are useful although the small number of communication channels in some instances results in annoying and even disastrous delays. In many of the smaller cities police service is not readily available because of the failure to maintain a permanent police telephone. The extensive adoption of radio in both small and large cities will make necessary changes in traditional police practices as the revolutionary implications of radio communication are more generally understood. With the adoption of rapid and positive communication facilities the questions arising with regard to police organization and the distribution of personnel assume a more prominent place than ever before. When the answering of complaints was a matter of minutes instead of seconds, and when the public accepted this delay as a matter of course, weaknesses in organizational structure were not so noticeable. Today as never before a coördinated organization and a proper distribution of personnel are dictated by a modern police communication system.

CHAPTER XII

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

The traditional plaint of police executives that the manpower at their disposal is not sufficient to do the job set for them has tended to obscure the importance of equipment in the pursuit of police duties. Certain items of equipment are indispensable; other items greatly increase the effectiveness of police operations. Moreover, equipment is incidentally but highly important because of its effect on police organization and tactics. Illustrative of this effect is the present tendency toward the motorization of a large part of the police personnel and the consequent relative diminution of the foot patrol. This trend has raised significant questions regarding the size of beats, the location of precinct stations, the system of communication, and other matters which bulk large in police administration.

It is the purpose of the present chapter to study the equipment of the various Texas police departments. The first question raised has to do with the procurement and management of equipment. The discussion proceeds then to an examination of the property in use, treating of buildings, jails, office and technical supplies, weapons, motor equipment, and officers' personal effects.

Procurement and Management of Equipment

The duty of securing adequate equipment for the police department rests on the police executive, and as an auxiliary service it may be placed under the control either of the police executive or of an individual directly responsible to him. In small departments the chief himself will discharge most of the responsibilities attaching to property management, since of necessity the departmental equipment will be meager. In large departments the management of equipment is usually placed in the hands of the departmental secretary, although responsibility for this important duty is not always clearly fixed. To relieve the primary divisions of the police department from the time-consuming tasks of maintaining and caring for equipment is to increase the time available for attention to their immediate duties. This is not to say that the

primary divisions should not be permitted to voice their desires as to the equipment needed. On the contrary, the police executive will be guided largely by the advice of the officers heading primary divisions. The important point here is that for the purpose of effective administration the primary division heads need to be relieved of as much of this kind of work as possible in order that they may concentrate their efforts elsewhere.

It is evident from casual observation that little consideration has been given to property management in Texas police departments. Such equipment as is available is purchased largely on the recommendation of a particular division without regard for other divisions which use the same equipment. Few efforts are made to exchange equipment among the various divisions so as to realize the highest returns on a particular investment. In some instances the departmental secretary has been assigned a few of the duties relating to property management, but in most cases no systematic effort has been made, even in the largest departments, to locate this duty in any one place. As a result, motor equipment is often used to a point where maintenance is economically wasteful; equipment lies idle in one division when it might well be employed temporarily elsewhere; adequate information on the needs of the department is not available for presentation to the budget officer; and the requests made for equipment are ordinarily based on rule-of-thumb estimates which may or may not reveal the actual requirements.

Buildings

Whether in large or small cities, the police building assumes a primary position in any enumeration of police property. Varying from the elaborate structures found in some of the larger cities to a single room in the smaller municipalities, the police quarters and their arrangement affect directly the character of police administration. In the construction of the police building or the section of the city hall devoted to police purposes, the chief of police is directly concerned with the question of physical lay-out. Moreover, in the location of precinct stations important questions arise, not only as to physical adequacy and convenience but also as to the probable future growth of the city. In many instances

police precinct stations are geographically misplaced because of the failure of police and city authorities to consult the city plan commission or to take advantage of information relating to the city's expansion. The construction of police headquarters and precinct stations therefore is an important matter requiring much more for its satisfactory disposition than technical proficiency in construction engineering.¹

Information relating to the police headquarters of sixty-five Texas cities over 3,500 population is available. Of this total, fifty-one departments, or 78.6 per cent, are located in the city hall; eleven, or 16.8 per cent, in a separate building;² and three in the county courthouse. Seven of the fourteen cities above 40,000 population, of which three are over 100,000, have constructed separate buildings for the police department.

While it is difficult to assess the adequacy of a police building without a detailed study of need in relation to floor space, location, physical lay-out, etc., some idea as to the situation presently prevailing may be gained from the condition of the police headquarters in the fourteen cities above 40,000 population. A survey of these quarters reveals beyond question that at least eleven are inadequate in size and that the police department in each instance is seriously hampered by lack of space. In fact only three cities in this group may be said to have adequate police headquarters from the standpoint of size and condition, and even in these cases little attention has been given to future requirements.

¹The effects of inadequate quarters on police administration have been summarized in J. A. Greening, "Report of the Committee on Scientific Standards in Police Service," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1936-37* (1937), 69-70.

²The influence which building arrangements may exercise on police administration is strikingly illustrated in one city which houses its detective division in a building separate from police headquarters. The physical divorce in this instance has assisted in the development of a spirit of almost complete independence on the part of the detective division and relatively few contacts are had with those in the headquarters building. While certain local matters have contributed to this development, nevertheless the building arrangements aided directly in the formation of what amounts to an independent detective division.

The space devoted to police needs in the larger Texas cities, whether in a separate building or in the city hall, in most instances is not properly arranged. Some excuse for this situation may be found in the instance of the older structures, but even those of comparatively recent origin are subject to the same criticism. In not a single instance is the central complaint desk strategically located with respect to the remaining auxiliary services and primary divisions. It is generally accepted that the record division should be in close proximity to the central complaint desk and that the former in turn should be so located as to permit consultation with the primary divisions with a minimum expenditure of time and effort;³ yet in no Texas city is such a layout found.

The building must be so arranged that prisoners may be booked, fingerprinted, and photographed without bringing them into contact with citizens who may be in police headquarters on other business. The office of the chief of police, formerly placed at the entrance to the police building, is now being located in a more inconspicuous place so that callers may not be permitted to consume too much of his time. Finally, it is elementary that police headquarters should be properly marked and that a directory be prominently placed so that citizens may locate particular divisions of the department. Those who have had occasion to make complaints of a personal nature at police headquarters or pay a visit on other business universally complain of the difficulty of getting about the department. Here, then, is an important if minor matter which can be cared for simply and easily.

Jails

The penalties imposed by the corporation court for violations of municipal ordinances are limited to fines, and hence permanent incarceration is not a police problem. Offenders may be held in jail for a time, however, when they are unable to pay their fines.

³In January, 1937, Public Administration Service outlined a proposed floor plan for the Saginaw Police Department which illustrates current police building needs. In this instance the entire department is built around the complaint desk and the records and identification division. The office of the *Police Chiefs' News Letter* has prepared a floor plan for a police department of about ninety men which has been reproduced in the *American Police Review*, I (July-August, 1937), 22.

Further, while few persons remain in the jail for more than a few days, large numbers are kept there overnight while investigations are being made. In the instance of those charged with a felony, transfers are made to the county jail pending trial in a state court.

The inadequacy of municipal jails has long been assailed by students of penal administration, and the jails found in Texas cities suffer from the deficiencies generally prevailing. The city jail too often is unsanitary; sometimes it lacks proper facilities for the segregation of first-time offenders from hardened criminals, and in some instances it does not even permit segregation by sexes. The cities over 100,000 population with one exception possess jails which meet their needs fairly well, although only one has provided first-class facilities. In the population group from 40,000 to 100,000 two cities have excellent jails which are modern in every respect. Two cities have no municipal jail and such prisoners as are subject to incarceration are kept in the county jail. The number and capacity of the jails in the various population groups are given in Table XL.

TABLE XL

NUMBER AND CAPACITY OF CITY JAILS, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Groups	Cities Reporting Jails	CAPACITY OF JAILS			Number of Persons		
		Cells	Mini-	Maxi-	Average	Mini-	Maxi-
			mum	mum		mum	mum
100,000 and over	5	6	10	8.5	40	150	101.0
40,000-100,000	7	2	10	5.7	20	150	64.3
10,000-40,000	19	2	6	3.7	6	24	14.9
3,500-10,000	32	3	5	4.0	1	50	12.2

Responsibility for the maintenance and operation of the jail in Texas police departments is ordinarily assigned to the captain of the patrol division. With a turnkey in immediate charge who is generally under the supervision of the desk sergeant, the jail is regarded as an adjunct of the uniformed division, and liability for mismanagement attaches to the patrol captain. Mistakes arising from false arrest, which makes the officer subject to suit, must be carefully guarded against by the police chief. In one instance several mistakes of this nature led to a requirement by the police executive that all confinements first receive the approval of a subordinate of the identification division. This practice tends to

remove responsibility from the captain of the patrol division and furthermore introduces the head of an auxiliary service in a control capacity into the domain of a primary division. Such problems of penal administration as arise in Texas departments are primarily the responsibility of the head of the patrol division and should remain so.

Motor Equipment

The move to effect a more flexible police organization has led in recent years to an extensive motorization of the police force. The extent to which police departments throughout the United States have been motorized is not accurately known, although there is no doubt that the larger departments have equipped a considerable portion of their primary divisions with automobiles and motorcycles. The Texas cities above 40,000 population have supplied municipally owned automobiles to their police departments in all save one instance. In this department one privately owned automobile is used for night patrol. A review of Table XLI shows

TABLE XLI

MUNICIPALLY OWNED POLICE AUTOMOBILES, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Groups	Total Number of Cities	Cities Reporting Automobiles		Number of Municipally Owned Automobiles		
		Number	Per Cent	Minimum	Maximum	Average
100,000 and over	5	5	100.0	10	65	41.4
40,000-100,000	9	8	88.9	3	20	7.6
10,000-40,000	23	20	87.0	1	4	1.9
3,500-10,000	42	20	47.6	1	2	1.1
1,000-3,500	124	12	9.7	1	4	1.3
Below 1,000	83	2	2.4	1	2	1.5
Total	286	67	23.4	1	65	5.1

that extensive motorization has occurred in the cities over 40,000 population. In the smaller cities few municipally owned automobiles are found. To some extent this deficiency is met by the use of privately owned automobiles in 93, or 32.5 per cent, of the 286 Texas police departments from which information was received. Extensive use of privately owned automobiles, however, is found only in the larger municipalities. With few exceptions the smallest

cities are not supplied with either municipally or privately owned cars.

While some executives feel that the matter of cost prevents the complete motorization of the smaller police departments, there seems to be no real excuse for not completely motorizing the police departments in smaller cities. The use of automobiles for patrol purposes in both residential and business sections as a substitute for foot patrol has come to be generally accepted in many police departments. A small personnel may, if completely motorized, provide a much more complete patrol service than a larger force only partially motorized.

One problem in administration which confronts the police chief in the larger police departments with motor equipment is the question of maintenance. There is a division of opinion as to whether the police should maintain their own garage or whether repairs should be made at the central municipal garage. The adequacy of local facilities for maintenance and repairs will influence the decision reached, since it is a matter of first importance that police motor equipment be available at all times. Where the police chief is relieved of this responsibility he will have additional time to devote to police matters. It is well, therefore, to turn the task of motor maintenance over to the municipal garage where this can be done without a delay in police service. The practice in Texas cities is inconclusive as to this matter, since both practices are found.

The employment of the motorcycle by police departments has many staunch adherents among police executives. Nevertheless, most departments now restrict the use of motorcycles to the traffic division, and the general trend is toward a diminution of its use even there. The number of serious injuries suffered by motorcycle officers has impelled several of the larger Texas departments virtually to discontinue the use of cycles in favor of automobiles. The important factor of safety favors the car, and there is every evidence that the motorcycle will be employed much less in the future than in the past.⁴

⁴Once the most important method of transportation employed by the police, the horse is found in only a few Texas departments. In two of the larger cities horses are employed in the impounding of stray animals. In no

Office and Technical Equipment

The expansion of police activities in recent years and the continuing tendency toward specialization have given wide prominence to the importance of office and technical equipment in police work. The irreplaceable character of police records, which form the basis for administrative control, beat construction, and other important uses, makes it imperative that they be protected by proper equipment. With a few exceptions sufficient attention has not been accorded by Texas police departments to this elementary but important consideration. For example, many of the larger departments house their identification records in wooden filing cases which offer no protection against fire or other hazards. In some instances, cardboard filing boxes are employed.

Again, there is an evident lack of such essentials as typewriters. In one Texas city of a quarter-million inhabitants only five typewriters are found in the police department. These are distributed among the secretary to the chief, departmental secretary, detective division, record bureau, and identification division. In another city of 50,000 population the police possess one typewriter. Under conditions such as these few reports can be made by typewriter and those that are written in longhand are generally difficult to decipher and costly mistakes often result. Yet again, tabulating machinery is not found in Texas police departments. Examples of further delinquencies in this respect might be noted, but enough has been said to justify the general conclusion that the expenditure of relatively small sums in the provision of essential machinery would increase materially the returns from certain divisions of the police department.

A similar lack may be noted in the technical equipment of Texas police departments. The remarkable advancement of scientific crime detection in recent years has resulted in a need for comparison microscopes, precision scales, equipment for chemical analyses, the polygraph, and other devices of a similar character which are coming to be considered regular equipment in an up-to-date police

instance is the horse used as a regular adjunct of the police department. There is some evidence that the horse may be effectively employed in congested areas for the direction of traffic and the dispersal of unruly crowds and mobs.

department.⁵ Photographic equipment is usually found in the identification bureaus of the larger cities. The essentials of a scientific crime detection laboratory are generally absent, however, as only one department may be said to possess even the elementary requirements of such a unit. The greatest progress has been made in the field of criminal identification. Well-equipped identification bureaus are found in virtually all cities over 40,000 population, and several of the smaller departments support identification bureaus which compare favorably with those in the largest cities. There is a general interest in the field of scientific crime detection in the larger departments, but efforts in this direction have been hampered by a failure to impress the appropriating authorities with its importance.

Personal Equipment

So long as the American police were primarily concerned with foot patrol their personal equipment consisted almost wholly of a sidearm and a night stick. The recent movement toward motorization, however, has resulted in extensively equipping the motor patrolman with such devices as will permit him to meet emergencies arising in the course of a tour of duty.

Unlike his English prototype, the American officer always carries a revolver as a regular part of his personal equipment, but despite this universal practice there is no standard police weapon. The prevailing practice as to the supplying of sidearms is to require that the officer pay for his weapon. As Table XLII shows, only one-third of sixty-four cities over 10,000 population in the United States supply the sidearm equipment of the police officer.⁶ In Texas cities above 10,000 population this percentage is even smaller, only 13.5 per cent of a total of thirty-seven following this practice.

⁵The widespread interest of police administrators in scientific crime detection has resulted in the employment of certain technical devices in the day-to-day work of the department. The extent to which these methods have been increasingly utilized in small as well as in large departments indicates their eventual employment in most of the police departments which are large enough to justify specialization.

⁶This information was furnished through the courtesy of Mr. H. H. Whitehead, City Statistician, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

TABLE XLII

POLICE PRACTICES AS TO THE SUPPLYING OF SIDEARMS IN CERTAIN CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND TEXAS, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Groups	Cities Outside Texas		Texas Cities	
	Total	Per Cent Supplying Sidearms	Total	Per Cent Supplying Sidearms
100,000 and over.....	32	31.3	5	20.0
40,000-100,000	17	52.9	9	11.1
10,000-40,000	15	20.0	23	13.0
Total	64	34.4	37	13.5

Ammunition is ordinarily purchased by the officer, and it is surprising to note that in some instances months and even years go by before it is replaced. Serious injuries and even fatalities sometimes result.⁷ The fact that the officer must buy his own ammunition undoubtedly suggests the principal reason why there is so little pistol practice. Only two of the fourteen cities over 40,000 population hold regularly scheduled pistol practices. In the remaining cities the police officer practices on his own initiative.

Despite the fact that one of the first arguments for motorization was that it would permit the officer to have at his disposal certain weapons, such as shotguns, revolvers, and machine guns, most of the larger police departments have failed to equip their patrol cars adequately. These weapons are useful only in emergencies, but the ever-present possibility of an encounter makes it imperative that they be supplied to patrolmen.

One example of a piece of auxiliary equipment which is very effective is the fire extinguisher. Oftentimes a police motor patrol will reach the scene of a fire before the fire department and can extinguish a blaze before it reaches menacing proportions. No department in Texas has equipped its police cars with fire extinguishers. A similar deficiency may be noted in the instance of first-aid equipment. Other examples of equipment of a like character which police departments should have available might be cited, but these will suffice to show that Texas cities have pursued a niggardly policy with respect to personal equipment for their police.

⁷A recent police fatality in one Texas city was directly attributable to the defective ammunition in an officer's gun which rendered it useless.

The requirement that the municipal police be garbed in a distinctive uniform originated at an early time, but in Texas the use of uniforms is confined almost wholly to the large departments. As shown in Table XLIII, 238 out of a total of 286 Texas cities

TABLE XLIII

POLICE PRACTICES AS TO THE POSSESSION AND OWNERSHIP OF UNIFORMS,
BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Groups	Total Number of Cities	Uniforms Publicly Owned	Uniforms Privately Owned	Cities Reporting No Uniforms
100,000 and over.....	5	2	3	—
40,000-100,000	9	1	8	—
10,000-40,000	23	10	9	4
3,500-10,000	42	5	7	30
1,000-3,500	124	2	—	122
Below 1,000	83	—	1	82
Total	286	20	28	238

fail to provide or to require the purchase of uniforms by their policemen. Only 15 out of 249 cities below 10,000 population have a uniformed police force. Inasmuch as the uniformed divisions of patrol and traffic comprise the bulk of the police personnel, the cost of providing police uniforms amounts to a substantial sum in the larger departments. The failure of the city to provide uniforms actually amounts to a salary reduction and must be considered as a part of the compensation problem. A study of the practices in sixty-four cities in states other than Texas shows a general tendency not to supply uniforms at municipal expense.⁸ Of the Texas cities above 10,000 population requiring the wearing of uniforms, thirteen, or 39.3 per cent, purchase them at municipal expense.

Except in the largest cities, Texas police departments do not possess adequate equipment for effective police work. The experience of some police executives in the larger Texas cities indicates that it is relatively easier to secure a few additional officers than

⁸This survey revealed that in thirty-two cities over 100,000 population, 9.4 per cent supplied uniforms; of seventeen cities in the population group of 40,000 to 100,000, 17.6 per cent; and in fifteen cities from 10,000 to 40,000 population, 13.3 per cent. Allowances for uniforms are made by 9.4 and 5.9 per cent of the cities in the first and second population groups respectively.

to persuade the municipal executive to approve the purchase of police equipment. Perhaps this attitude toward police equipment flows from the prevailing opinion that police administration revolves around the effective use of the night stick. The entrance of the police into new fields and the definite trend toward specialization, however, add weight to the conclusion that the police must be properly equipped if they would answer the increased demands for police protection. The burden of carrying this message to the municipal executive and obtaining the needed equipment rests squarely on the shoulders of the chief of police. The effectiveness of local police administration will be determined in no small degree by the tools which are placed in the hands of the police, for police service as the term has come to be understood cannot be rendered without adequate equipment.

PART FOUR
PRIMARY FUNCTIONS

CHAPTER XIII

PATROL

The primary functions of the municipal police embrace (1) patrol, (2) criminal investigation, (3) traffic regulation, (4) vice control, and (5) crime prevention. The principal purpose underlying the patrol function is crime repression secured through a vigilant and unremitting patrol of the city by foot or motor. The criminal investigation division is primarily concerned with the detection, apprehension, and prosecution of offenders against the law. The duties of the traffic division include enforcement, engineering, and education as means of reducing traffic accidents and expediting the movement of vehicular traffic. The most important special functions are those relating to vice control and crime prevention; in some instances separate divisions of the police department have been created for the administration of these functions.

The effectiveness with which the primary police functions are performed will be directly conditioned by the adequacy of the auxiliary services. The patrol division is dependent upon the communication and record divisions for prompt notification of offenses and for information which will permit a proper distribution of the patrol personnel. The efforts of the criminal investigation division will be hampered or aided by the extent to which satisfactory records and equipment are made available for its use. The traffic division is directly dependent upon the communication and record divisions for the quick transfer of information, and for data relating to the incidence of traffic offenses which will enable the traffic captain to distribute available personnel at the points needed. The special function services are also directly affected by the communication and record divisions in a similar manner. All of the primary divisions are dependent on the personnel agency, for without intelligent personnel management there can be no really effective performance of duties.

THE PATROL FUNCTION

The patrol division of the police department is concerned primarily with protecting life and property. The routine character

of its work usually brings it little publicity, but it is the most important of the primary functions. It is conceivable that a police department could operate for a time in the absence of the other primary divisions, but the removal of the patrol from the streets of any city of considerable size would result quickly in chaos. As one police executive has said: "Beat patrol is fundamental and cannot be neglected. Failure to recognize the fundamental importance of beat patrol is certain to be reflected in an increased crime curve. There is absolutely nothing that can take the place of persistent, regular, and intelligent beat patrol; it is the foundation of police service."¹

Patrol Activities

The activities of the patrol division may be divided into those of a primary and those of a secondary nature. The primary activity of the patrol division relates to the repression of crime and breaches of the peace.² As the visible embodiment of law enforcement the uniformed police by their very presence on the streets of the city serve as a deterrent to crime.³ In fulfilling its primary

¹August Vollmer, "The Selection and Distribution of Police Personnel," *City Manager Yearbook*, 1931 (1931), 147. See also Portland Police Survey Commission, *Survey of the Bureau of Police, Portland, Oregon* (1934), 23; and Citizens' Police Committee, *Chicago Police Problems* (Chicago, 1931), 87.

²The terms "crime repression" and "crime prevention" are sometimes loosely used by police officials. As employed here the term "crime repression" refers to the restraining of crime by a continuous patrol and the holding in check of the criminal element. The term "crime prevention" refers to the ultimate reduction of criminal activities through attention to juvenile delinquents and others who may be directed away from criminal impulses. Crime prevention is therefore a long-time program some of the results of which are not immediately available.

³The role of the patrol officer has been well summarized as follows: "The constable on patrol duty is still the most important unit in modern police organization as regards the prevention of crime. By his mere presence he acts both as a preserver of the peace and as a deterrent to the activities of the criminal, while his vigilance and powers of observation in the speedy discovery of committed crime facilitate the investigations of the detective officers with whom he coöperates. Any tendency further to add to the number or complexity of a constable's duties, or reduce street patrol strength to an extent that might militate against the efficient carrying out of the functions for which the Police Service was originally created, can

duty of crime repression the patrol division has been characterized as the "eyes and ears" of the police department,⁴ and its service in this capacity is enhanced by the fact that it is the only division of the police force which is in evidence on the city streets at all hours of the day and night. In the event of the occurrence of a crime or a breach of the public peace the patrolman is at hand to take action, often without the necessity of being called. The size of the area patrolled by the individual officer, however, makes it necessary for him to rely in considerable part on complaints by citizens. Thus the patrolman serves as a discoverer of crime and potential crime on his beat and also answers complaints lodged by citizens with him personally or with police headquarters.

The patrolman, however, is not limited merely to the answering of complaints. In addition to his primary duties he also engages in a number of secondary activities which have been assigned to him through custom. Often he is called upon to render assistance in many varied forms, from the giving of information to acting in matters of public emergency. The police must also coöperate with other governmental units, more particularly other municipal departments, whenever occasion arises, and therefore must be familiar with the work of the fire, health, street, and other departments of the city.⁵

Personnel Distribution and Supervision

In the administration of the patrol division the police executive is directly concerned with personnel distribution and supervision. In effecting a more scientific personnel distribution the efforts of the chief are devoted to the geographical and chronological allotment of the available patrol personnel in such a manner as to concentrate the patrol force at the time and place where it is most needed. A second important administrative consideration relates

only be regarded with alarm and must be strenuously resisted." "The Basic Purpose of Police," *Police Chronicle and Constabulary World*, No. 95 (August 21, 1936), 6.

⁴Bruce Smith, "Municipal Police Administration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXLVI (November, 1929), 23.

⁵The relations of the police with other departments of the city's government are discussed in Chap. III.

to personnel supervision. Unlike those police divisions whose work is concentrated primarily at headquarters, the patrol division is dispersed over the city, and the effectiveness with which the patrolling function is discharged depends directly on continuous and close supervision designed to counteract the effect of territorial decentralization.

Development of the Patrol Function

The basic character of the patrol function justifies a brief consideration of its development. Prior to the establishment of the modern police organization the patrol function was the duty of watchmen supported from private and public sources. Following the establishment of formal police organizations in both England and the United States the bulk of the police personnel was assigned to patrol duty. In the early days, however, the patrol function was too hazardous for single officers, and patrol was carried on by squads. Later, as the police came to be accepted as performing a regular municipal function, the present practice of assigning one police officer to a definite territory for patrol purposes came to be general.⁶

With the growth of specialization in police administration, the new divisions, such as criminal investigation and traffic, depleted the strength of the patrol force, and as new duties were assumed this trend was accelerated. Despite the growth in the police personnel the percentage of the force assigned to patrol declined. It has been stated that "Uniform patrol is a vanishing institution. . . . there is an almost universal tendency toward the dispersion of the police force. The thin blue line has been stretched to the breaking point."⁷ It is for this reason that the familiar index of the number of police per 1,000 population has come to have little significance; a more nearly accurate index would be the number of patrolmen available for patrol duty per 1,000 population.

While the goal of the patrol division in crime repression has remained the same, the methods of patrol have been altered by technical developments, particularly in the fields of transportation

⁶L. F. Fuld, *Police Administration* (New York, 1910), 115.

⁷Smith, *op. cit.*, 22-23. An analysis of the effect of special patrol assignments on the available patrol strength is presented in Chap. VI.

and communication. Until comparatively recent times the patrol function was exercised almost wholly by men on foot. In some of the larger cities a limited number of patrolmen were assigned to duty as mounted police, but these never succeeded in supplanting the foot patrol. Later the bicycle was adapted to patrol work and was employed in some of the larger municipalities as late as fifteen or twenty years ago. It was not until the automobile and motorcycle became available for general police use that serious questions were raised as to the efficacy of foot patrol.⁸ Even with these new developments, however, as late as 1929 only a few American cities had adopted motor patrol extensively, and patrol duties in large part were still being carried on by men on foot.⁹ Only with the development of police radio communication did the substitution of motor for foot patrol come to be an accepted practice in American police departments.

In the early days of the police organization the activities of the patrol division were confined to night hours, although later they were expanded to include the full twenty-four-hour period. Originally the two-platoon system was a familiar feature of American municipal police forces. Under this system patrolmen were required to work long hours and serve a certain portion of their time on reserve at the station in order to meet emergency demands. The evolution of the two-platoon into a three-platoon system consisting of three eight-hour shifts per day in the larger cities relieved the situation so far as excessive working hours were concerned, but scant attention was devoted to a scientific distribution of personnel.¹⁰ In many of the smaller Texas cities the two-platoon system is still in vogue, although the requirements of reserve strength have been somewhat modified by improved methods of communication.

The distribution of the patrol personnel has been largely dependent on the patrol methods followed. The limitations of transportation and communication facilities formerly made necessary the division of the city into districts, precincts, and beats. The

⁸Elmer D. Graper, *American Police Administration* (New York, 1921), 132-33.

⁹August Vollmer, *Survey of the Metropolitan Police Department of Kansas City, Missouri* (1929), 162.

¹⁰Fuld, *op. cit.*, 121-24.

primary territorial unit of the police department is the beat, which has been defined as "a district, the boundaries of which are definitely established, assigned to a patrolman for supervision during his tour of duty."¹¹ Beats in turn were combined into precincts, in each of which a station was ordinarily established. The officer on his beat was under the direction of the precinct station staff. For purposes of supervision by the police executive at central police headquarters, precincts in the larger cities were combined into two or more districts, generally with a deputy commissioner or deputy chief in charge of each. In the smaller cities the limited territory to be patrolled did not necessitate the establishment of districts and precincts, and the beat became the territorial unit for personnel distribution. The methods by which personnel was divided among the various units ordinarily were not determined on any scientific basis but rested largely on an estimate made by the superior officers as to police needs in a particular section. In brief, scientific beat construction was unknown, with the result that excessive manpower was often found in some sections of the city at the expense of others which were undermanned.¹²

PATROL ADMINISTRATION

Organization

As the patrol division comprises the largest division of the police organization in point of personnel, its place in the police structure is ordinarily that of a separate division the head of which reports directly to the police executive. In cities where the precinct is employed, each precinct station is ordinarily under the direction of a captain who may be responsible either to the chief of police or to a deputy commissioner or deputy chief. In Texas cities the practice varies. Of the five cities above 100,000 population three have a patrol division headed by a captain. In the other two, patrol and traffic regulation are combined as a uniform division under a captain reporting directly to the police executive. A similar practice is followed in the cities from 40,000 to 100,000

¹¹Wichita Police Department, *Duty Manual* (1935), 3.

¹²August Vollmer, "The Police Beat," *Proceedings, Fortieth Annual Convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police* (1933), 304.

population. The limited personnel strength of the traffic and patrol units in the smaller municipalities makes necessary their combination. There is, however, the danger in such a combination that insistence on increased attention to traffic may divert needed personnel from patrol duties. The dependence of the remaining primary divisions on the patrol division calls for a coördination of the efforts of all even where specialization has resulted in the creation of separate divisions for each primary function.

Personnel Strength

As yet there is no scientific method for assigning the police personnel among the various primary divisions. As noted previously, the general tendency has been to raid the patrol division in favor of the remaining primary activities and of special assignments. The general uncertainty as to the percentage of the total force which should be assigned to patrol duty is shown in Table XLIV,

TABLE XLIV

PATROL PERSONNEL STRENGTH IN CITIES OVER 40,000 POPULATION, 1937

Cities	Total Police Personnel	Per cent of Total Police Personnel in Patrol Division
100,000 Population and Over:		
Houston	326	26.4
Dallas	319	38.2
San Antonio	220	34.1
Fort Worth	226	47.3
El Paso	92	29.3
Subtotal	1,183	35.2
40,000-100,000 Population:		
Austin	65	23.1
Beaumont	57	35.1
Waco	54	50.0
Galveston	74	64.9
Port Arthur	22	45.5
Wichita Falls	43	37.2
Amarillo	44	34.1
Corpus Christi	34	32.3
Laredo	35	68.6
Subtotal	428	43.5
Total	1,611	37.4

which gives the percentage of the total force engaged in the patrol division in the fourteen Texas cities over 40,000 population.¹³ The range of patrol strength in the five largest cities is from 47.3 per cent in Fort Worth to 26.4 per cent in Houston. The range in the cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population is from 64.9 per cent in Galveston to 23.1 per cent in Austin. There is no way to decide the relative merits of these apportionments without an intimate study of the needs of each department, although it is evident that the patrol needs of these cities vary widely, that other officers besides patrolmen are engaged in patrol duty, or that patrol work is being overstressed or understressed from city to city. The percentage assigned to patrol duty in the smaller municipalities is lower as a result of the small personnel and a correspondingly larger percentage of persons in supervisory ranks. It should be noted, however, that in the smaller cities the main activities of the police are those of patrol, whatever they may be called.

While the percentage assigned to patrol in some cities may appear to be high, the fact must be taken into consideration that these assignments represent the maximum and do not take into account diversions of patrol strength occasioned by illness and special details.¹⁴ A further consideration is the fact that the total personnel available must be apportioned among the three platoons, which is the prevailing system of patrol assignment in these fourteen cities. Taking the average strength of the patrol division in the five largest cities, which is 34.2 per cent of the total police personnel, the maximum patrol strength available for any one eight-hour patrol shift would be on an average only one-ninth of the total force.¹⁵

¹³The patrol strength of the various cities in Table XLIV is computed on the basis of the number of foot and motor patrolmen available for active duty. None above the rank of patrolman is included.

¹⁴In many cities in the United States special details of patrolmen are assigned without charge for such duties as the transfer of pay rolls, athletic contests, and private gatherings such as weddings, funerals, and dances. A few cities have reduced the number of requests of this type by imposing a charge varying with the type of service asked and the total police personnel required. Kansas City, Missouri, Civic Research Institute, "Service Charges for Police Department," *Kansas City Public Affairs*, No. 697 (October 29, 1936).

¹⁵It should be noted here that the allotment of personnel among the three details will differ according to police needs as evidenced by complaints and

While no uniform rule as to the apportionment of personnel can be laid down, it is apparent that in some of the cities the patrol personnel constitutes too small a percentage of the total manpower and that patrol service is accordingly inadequate.

Foot or Motor Patrol?

With police executives in many instances fighting a losing battle in attempting to check patrol depletion, it has become necessary to devote increased attention to patrol methods. This raises the question as to the relative merits of foot and motorized patrol, a subject which has given rise to considerable controversy among police administrators. One group insists that the usefulness of the foot patrolman has been reduced almost to the vanishing point; it holds that at best foot patrolmen may be utilized effectively only in congested business districts and that even here their work can be supplemented by motor patrol.¹⁶ The opponents of foot patrol contend that motorization secures a considerable extension of the territory patrolled, with no sacrifice in effectiveness. The arguments for continuing the foot patrol rest largely on its usefulness in congested business districts. It is further argued that the foot patrolman establishes a more intimate relationship with individuals and becomes a regular part of the life on his beat in a manner which is not possible to the motor patrolman.¹⁷ So far as present trends are discernible, they clearly favor the proponents of

other considerations. Ordinarily the largest patrol strength should be assigned to the shift from 3 P.M. to 11 P.M. because of the concentration of offenses at that time.

¹⁶O. W. Wilson, "Problems of Police Administration," *Texas Municipalities*, XXI (August, 1934), 187-88; August Vollmer, *Survey of the Metropolitan Police Department of Kansas City, Missouri*, 70.

¹⁷A recent study stated that "To meet the demands of present day metropolitan life, a patrolman must be more than the threat of a uniform, a badge and a nightstick. He should be, to a certain extent, a social worker familiar with his cases and their problems. For complete understanding of those problems he must have time to study them and, to the extent of his authority, work out the solutions which will prevent delinquent individuals from beginning or continuing careers of crime." Cincinnati Regional Crime-Committee, *The Cincinnati Police Beat Survey* (American Public Welfare Association, 1936), iv.

an increased motor patrol; for reductions in personnel and advanced methods of communication and transportation have impelled police executives almost everywhere to discard foot patrolmen in residential areas and to concentrate them in congested business districts and troublesome crime areas.¹⁸

The supplanting of foot by motor patrol in Texas cities seems to be under way, although the movement is by no means universal. As shown in Table XLV, in the fourteen cities over 40,000 popula-

TABLE XLV

FOOT AND MOTOR PATROL PERSONNEL IN CITIES OVER 40,000 POPULATION, 1937

Cities	Total Patrol Strength	Per Cent of Total Patrol on Foot	Per Cent of Total Patrol Motorized
100,000 Population and Over:			
Houston	86	51.2	48.8
Dallas	122	5.7	94.3
San Antonio	75	6.7	93.3
Fort Worth	107	33.6	66.4
El Paso	27	—	100.0
Subtotal	417	22.1	77.9
40,000-100,000 Population:			
Austin	15	66.7	33.3
Beaumont	20	30.0	70.0
Waco	27	51.9	48.1
Galveston	48	81.3	18.7
Port Arthur	10	80.0	20.0
Wichita Falls	16	31.3	68.7
Amarillo	15	53.3	46.7
Corpus Christi	11	27.3	72.7
Laredo	24	91.7	8.3
Subtotal	186	61.8	38.2
Total	603	27.2	72.8

tion the range is from complete motorization to almost the opposite, although all cities have motorized at least a portion of their patrol

¹⁸Portland Police Survey Commission, *op. cit.*, 29-30. Combination foot and motor patrols are the prevailing practice at the present time, according to a recent study. See Richard W. Morris, *Organization and Administration of a Municipal Police Department* (Albany, 1934), 25. In some areas a limited personnel has forced the abandonment of foot patrol in the smaller cities. Association of Washington Cities, "The Use of Patrol Cars in the Police Work of Small Cities of Oregon and Washington," *Washington Municipal Bulletin*, Report No. 13 (January 18, 1935).

personnel. Foot patrol is disappearing in the cities above 100,000 population, where motorization is practically complete in three cities and includes two-thirds of the total patrol personnel in the other two. Similar variations, though not quite so extreme, are discovered in the cities of 40,000 to 100,000 population. In the cities below 40,000 population like differences in the distribution of patrol are found, although the smaller personnel in these municipalities prevents any systematized division between foot and motor patrolmen. The adoption of motor patrol in Texas cities has occurred in large part since the installation of radio communication, and increasing use of two-way radio no doubt will lead to a further diminution of the number of foot patrolmen.

Single- or Double-Officer Motor Patrol?

Foot patrol universally is conducted by single officers responsible for definite beats. A lively controversy exists at the present as to the feasibility of using one officer for motor patrol. On this point there is a wide divergence of opinion, with the major consideration being that of safety.¹⁹ For the police executive this is a most important point, since a change from double to single patrol will either permit a decrease in the size of the beat or make additional personnel available for other duties. The expense involved in providing more motor equipment is offset by the improved patrol efficiency and the further fact that increased police strength is made available in different parts of the city. Emergency complaints may be answered by more than one patrolman if necessary.

Texas police executives are at one in condemning the single-officer motor patrol, although in a few instances this method is employed in the daytime because of limited patrol personnel strength. A curious inconsistency exists here, in view of the fact that foot patrolmen are assigned to duty singly without argument.²⁰

¹⁹For a presentation of opposite views on this point by two police executives, see August Vollmer, *Survey of the Minneapolis Police Department* (1930), 83; and Lewis Claude, "Patrolling," *Proceedings, Minnesota Police Training School* (League of Minnesota Municipalities, 1936), 33.

²⁰Foot patrolmen were once required to patrol in pairs, but this practice was gradually abandoned. Bruce Smith, "Metropolitan Police Systems," in Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, *The Missouri Crime Survey* (New

The adaptation of two-way radio communication for police purposes has eliminated the last substantial argument against the single-officer motor patrol.²¹

Reserve Officers

Another change in patrol methods occasioned by the adoption of the radio and automobile for patrol purposes is the elimination of the reserve force at the precinct or headquarters station.²² Formerly it was necessary to keep on hand a number of men sufficient to answer emergency calls, or to act when the beat patrolman could not be reached. The radio and the car have permitted the police chief to utilize the available patrol personnel more fully than before, which is in general accord with the accepted principle of using as many officers as possible on active outside duty. Notwithstanding this development, the short-call officer (a reserve patrolman stationed at headquarters) is still found in a few Texas departments, despite the fact that the increasing mobility of patrol makes his presence an evident waste of police strength.

The Precinct Station

A further factor which has restricted patrol strength has been the precinct stations found in the larger cities. Prior to the advent of the radio and the automobile, precinct stations were found in the large Texas cities, but with one exception these have now been abandoned. In this one instance the use of three precinct stations is difficult to justify in view of the loss in manpower occasioned by their operation and the further fact that the communication system is centralized at headquarters. The present trend is toward the abandonment of precinct stations in favor of a city-wide consolidation. This movement is to be encouraged, particularly since it

York, 1926), 44. Perhaps the present controversy over motor patrol will be resolved in the same manner.

²¹Public Administration Service, *Survey of the Police Department of Greenwich, Connecticut* (1937), 17. A substantial number of cities are using the single-officer motor patrol at the present time. See Morris, *op. cit.*, 25-26.

²²Providence Governmental Research Bureau, *Survey and Report on the Providence Police Department* (1933), 38; and L. W. Hoelscher, *Report on the Fort Worth Police Department and Proposed Reorganization* (1933), 49-53.

permits the release for active patrol purposes of a number of officers formerly detailed to station duty.²³

Beat Construction

With the acknowledged importance of the beat as the foundation of the patrol division, it is evident that beat construction comprises an important part of police planning. A review of the situation in Texas departments, however, reveals little constructive thought in this direction. In Dallas, for example, twelve radio patrol beats were established in 1932, with the boundaries being rather arbitrarily fixed on the basis of streets, railroad tracks, and other natural limits. The variation in the number of complaints in Dallas resulting in the dispatching of a patrol car is shown in Table XLVI.

TABLE XLVI

POLICE RADIO CALLS BY DISTRICTS AND SHIFTS IN DALLAS FOR APRIL, 1937

District Number	SHIFTS			Total
	7 A.M. to 3 P.M.	3 P.M. to 11 P.M.	11 P.M. to 7 A.M.	
31	105	162	110	377
32	124	180	112	416
33	93	146	97	336
34	57	81	70	208
35	81	147	103	331
36	41	74	61	176
37	96	128	80	304
38	19	33	24	76
39	37	68	40	145
40	49	86	37	172
41	78	97	84	259
42	28	42	28	98
50	126	128	116	370

Houston, with an area of seventy-two square miles, has only seven radio patrol beats, which were established with little attention to need. As only 12 per cent of the total force is available for twenty-four-hour duty in the motorized police service, it can be seen

²³For examples of the extent to which the patrol strength has been decreased in particular cities as a result of the precinct organization, see San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, "Police Department Survey Report," *The City*, XVII (July 7, 1937), 64-68; and New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research, *Report on the Patrol Service and Precinct Stations of the New Orleans Police Department* (1934), 4-13.

that this vast area receives relatively little patrol attention, with the major portion of the force being concentrated in the business area. Similar failures to utilize the police records for scientific beat construction are found in San Antonio and El Paso.

The only city among those over 100,000 population which has attempted to construct patrol beats on the basis of the actual demand for police service is Fort Worth, which has not set up definite boundaries but has permitted a flexible arrangement which fluctuates from month to month on the basis of the incidence of crime in various parts of the city. In addition, the force is dispersed on a chronological basis so that the major part of the patrol division is available for late afternoon and early night duty when its services are most needed. Even here, however, the absence of adequate records has handicapped the construction of patrol beats, and while the existing system is considerably in advance of those found elsewhere in Texas, many of the questions relating to beat construction remain unanswered.

Personnel Distribution

With one exception the departments in the population group over 100,000 have not taken cognizance of the elementary fact that the demands for patrol service vary during the day. Lack of observation of this important factor has led in some cities to the equal distribution of patrol personnel among the three details, which results in overloading the night detail. The failure to recognize this elementary principle of beat construction has reduced the amount and calibre of patrol service in Texas cities. Similar indictments may be made of the chronological distribution of personnel in the smaller cities, none of which has studied and constructed beats on any save rule-of-thumb bases.

Further evidence of inattention to patrol needs is indicated by the rotation practices of the larger cities. In San Antonio and Dallas the patrol shifts rotate on a monthly basis; in El Paso the rotation is made once each two weeks. No rotation of shifts is found in Houston and Fort Worth, with the exception of a partial rotation in the latter city on the basis of seniority and merit. While there is a universal demand among patrolmen for rotation in order that the desirable day shift can be shared equally, present-day patrol

techniques emphasize the necessity of placing the best men on the shift bearing the heaviest crime load. This shift is the one coming in the late afternoon and early night, which in practically every city handles the bulk of citizen complaints. For this reason progressive patrol administration demands the placing of the best qualified portion of the personnel on this shift. The practice of requiring recruits entering the police service to begin their service with the third detail (during the latter portion of the night) will serve as an incentive for achievement, so as to permit transfer to a more desirable tour of duty. In some of the better patrolled cities service on the second shift is desired, for in those cities it is generally regarded as a mark of distinction to be selected for duty on this detail.

The proper distribution of the patrol force to meet the demands for police service must rest in final analysis on a program of scientific beat construction. Attempts to construct beats on a scientific basis have been founded on (1) the time required to perform patrol duties, and (2) the number of crime hazards and other factors requiring police attention. The first method was employed in the beat survey conducted in Cincinnati,²⁴ and the purpose was to ascertain the amount of work which a foot patrolman could perform efficiently during an eight-hour tour of duty. Within the area covered by the survey a study was made of the number of arrests and investigations in each block. From an intensive study of the time required by patrolmen to perform arrests and make certain types of investigations, an average time unit for each activity was calculated. On this basis the blocks were combined into beats in such a manner that the average time consumed by the patrol officer would not exceed the eight-hour period covered by his tour of duty. This survey was confined to the "basin" area of the city in which there was a concentration of criminal offenses. The Cincinnati Regional Crime Committee found the existing beat system to be

²⁴Cincinnati Regional Crime Committee, *op. cit.* A definite procedure for beat construction on a time basis has been outlined in Works Progress Administration, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, *Definition of Police Beats* (Public Administration Circular No. 2, 1937).

inadequate and based on an incorrect distribution, and recommended the addition of 111 men to the existing patrol personnel in order to provide a more adequate patrol of the area.

Crime hazards as a basis for beat construction have been employed in Wichita, Kansas.²⁵ Five factors—area, number of felons in residence, arrests, complaints, and routine duty time—were used to determine the distribution. With the exception of routine duty time, these factors were distributed as a percentage of the total found in the city. Routine duty time includes the time required to inspect store entrances and public garages. Each of these factors is accorded an equal weight, and while this arbitrary assignment is admittedly unsatisfactory, it was made necessary by the absence of information on which a scientific plan of weighting could be based. The distribution of the personnel in Wichita among the three tours of duty is based on complaints, arrests, and property losses.

Personnel Supervision

Once the patrol personnel has been distributed on a scientific basis, the matter of supervision assumes primary importance. In the earlier days of police patrol the complete isolation of the patrolman from the station-house during his tour of duty made effective supervision almost impossible.²⁶ With the introduction of police signal boxes and the requirement that patrolmen report at periodic intervals, supervision became more effective, although many problems still remained.²⁷ It was not until the introduction of radio communication, however, that continuous and instantaneous communication with the patrolman became possible, and the more recent adoption of two-way radio communication has led for the first time to a direct and effective control over the activities of the patrolman regardless of his location.

Increasing demands that every police activity be made a matter of written record have assisted in securing a more effective patrol

²⁵See O. W. Wilson, "The Use of Records in Administering Police Activities," *City Manager Yearbook, 1933* (1933), 152-60.

²⁶Graper, *op. cit.*, 121-24.

²⁷Alfred Law, "Police Patrol Systems," *The Police Journal*, II (London, 1929), 280-93.

supervision. At the end of each tour of duty the patrolman submits a written account of his activities which permits an evaluation by the patrol sergeant and the police executive of the patrolman's work and forms a useful personnel record when questions of advancement or promotion arise. With these later developments in patrol supervision, the key officer in any patrol division is the patrol sergeant, who is constantly engaged in outside work, checking and supervising the activities of the patrolmen under his command.²⁸ On him rests final responsibility for the successful performance of patrol duties, and the character of the task imposed demands of him a thorough knowledge of the entire police process and of the techniques of supervision.

On the basis of this standard, the supervisory practices of Texas departments do not fulfill modern needs. San Antonio fails to provide any field patrol supervision, and a lack of written reports by patrolmen precludes any investigation or evaluation of their work. Houston has no formal program of field inspection. Some supervision over the reports of patrolmen on the results of investigations has been obtained through the adoption of a radio dispatching system which requires all patrolmen to report to the dispatcher. Patrolmen are also required to file written reports of their daily activities with the dispatcher, but no use is made of these reports for administrative purposes. A more active field supervision is exercised in Dallas; patrolmen are required to submit daily reports which are checked by the radio dispatcher and the patrol lieutenant. Continuous field supervision is provided in Fort Worth by the assignment of lieutenants to the second and third details. Of the cities in the population group of 40,000 to 100,000, the most active patrol supervision is exercised in Beaumont, which requires frequent field inspections by the patrol captain in charge of each shift, and in addition regular reports to the desk sergeant. Systematized patrol supervision is absent in the remaining cities of this group.

²⁸An outline of the duties of a patrol sergeant is given in League of Kansas Municipalities, *Outline of Instruction, Police Training School* (Report No. 6, 1936), 106.

Patrol Tactics

A patrol division scientifically distributed on the basis of need and systematically supervised by field inspections cannot perform to best advantage without a thorough knowledge of patrol techniques. The duties of the patrolman are varied in character. According to a recent study made of the Los Angeles Police Department, a patrolman, in order to perform effectively the duties required, is expected to have a knowledge of 157 different activities.²⁹ The extent to which patrol duties are effectively performed will depend, therefore, on an intensive training program designed to instruct the patrolman in his daily duties. Furthermore, the crises which occasionally confront a particular department, such as a bank robbery or holdup, necessitate a careful study of the responsibilities of the patrol division at such times and of the procedure to be followed in the event of emergencies. Not only does this reduce the element of surprise in patrolling; it also enhances the reputation of the police as a well-trained and quick-thinking force.³⁰

In the administration of the patrol division the police executive must give first attention to the distribution and supervision of personnel. The increasing adaptation of improved methods of communication and transportation for police use has vastly increased the potential service which may be rendered by the patrolman, and consequently a more satisfactory police service may be expected. These advancements are dependent, however, on the adoption of improved methods of beat construction designed to effect distribution of police personnel on the basis of need and the supervision of that

²⁹California Department of Education, *Job Analysis of Police Service* (1933), 1-23.

³⁰For an outline of the procedure to be followed by patrolmen in the exercise of their duties see Wichita Police Department, *Police Tactics* (1934). On one occasion the writer was in a police department outside Texas when a bank alarm came in on a private alarm system. Instantly the previously prepared procedure went into operation and it was a matter of only a few moments until the entire area surrounding the bank was covered. Although the alarm proved to be false, the general verdict of the public was one of pride in the speed shown by the police in meeting the emergency. This action is to be contrasted with another city, where the chief of police, when questioned as to the procedure employed in answering bank alarms, stated that he would "send some patrolmen."

personnel in a continuous and effective manner. The introduction of scientific beat construction lends impetus to the movement for the elimination of amateurs in police administration. Rule-of-thumb methods and superficial knowledge of patrol needs are no longer adequate. More and more, patrol administration requires the attention of an intelligent superior versed in fields other than strict police routine. Particularly must the police executive realize that much may be gained from a study of techniques which have proved useful in other fields of administration.

CHAPTER XIV

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION

No matter how effective the efforts of the patrol division may be, numerous offenses become known to the police which require extensive investigation for their solution. The number of these offenses and the grave character of many of them have made necessary the organization of a separate division in the police department manned by detectives experienced in investigation. In performing one of the primary functions of the police, the criminal investigation division occupies a place in the police organization similar to that of patrol, although its numerical strength ordinarily is much smaller.

The detective division is primarily concerned with investigation of the more serious offenses. Its work involves detecting, apprehending, and assisting in the prosecution of criminal offenders. While these tasks will require most or all of the time of the detectives, they may also be assigned other duties such as investigating suspicious characters and assisting in the location of crime hazards. In discharging these functions the detective shares responsibility with the patrolman for the repression of crime. In many instances, the duties of the detectives supplement those of the patrol division, and the coördination of the work of these units is an important problem for the police executive.

Organization

In specialized departments the criminal investigation division ordinarily is placed under a superior officer with the title of inspector, chief, or captain of detectives, who is responsible directly to the chief of police. The practice in Texas cities is in accord with this general pattern of organization. Separate detective divisions are found in each of the five cities over 100,000 population. There are separate detective divisions in the smaller cities, although in most instances the personnel assigned to criminal investigation is small. Texas cities are not confronted with the problem of supervision which is peculiar to the precinct form of organization.

Houston, the only city with precinct subdivisions, does not base its detective organization on the precinct plan; detective administration is centralized at headquarters.

Personnel Selection

To the police chief the criminal investigation division presents the problems of selecting, distributing, and supervising the detective personnel.¹ In line with general practice, Texas police executives uniformly select detectives from patrol ranks. In the cities with formal merit systems, examinations are given for promotion to the rank of detective, which carries a higher salary and is regarded as a distinct recognition. The Dallas civil service rules require a patrolman to serve a minimum of six months after the conclusion of the probationary period before becoming eligible to take a promotional examination for the post of sergeant. All promotions to the grade of detective are made from the eligible lists of those who have qualified for the sergeantcy. Houston requires a man to serve in the patrol ranks for at least two-and-one-half years before becoming eligible to the rank of sergeant, and an additional year before elevation to the detective division. Promotional examinations are given and appointments are made from the eligible register so secured. El Paso and San Antonio require one and three years respectively in the patrol ranks before promotion. In these two cities no promotional examinations are given and all promotions are made by the commissioner of fire and police. Waco requires a minimum service of one year in the uniform (patrol and traffic) division and qualification through a promotional examination.

In the remaining cities in the group over 40,000 population in which detective divisions are found, promotions are made to the grade of detective by the chief of police. For this reason appointments to the detective division in a few instances are made from outside the department, although the prevailing rule is to require some service in the patrol division. Quite frequently the detective is selected without an adequate opportunity for the appointing officer to observe his abilities in detective work. Notwithstanding

¹See O. W. Wilson, "Standards for Administration of a Detective Bureau," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1937-38* (1938), 27-34.

occasional appointments of incompetents to the detective service, demotions to the patrol ranks rarely occur. In the cities with formal merit systems the rigid application of the civil service rules makes difficult any flexibility in the assignment of personnel; once made, an appointment is likely to become permanent, and misfits are therefore found in many detective divisions.

The extensive list of qualities which the effective investigator needs raises serious doubts as to the efficacy of the present method of selection in Texas police departments.² While promotional examinations may assist in locating the more intelligent members of the patrol division, the only effective method of discovering those with the aptitudes required for criminal investigation is by observation of actual performance. As the uniform practice in Texas cities is to exclude patrolmen from assuming responsibility for criminal investigation, such selections as are made for the detective division are based on factors which may or may not have a bearing on investigation work. It is by no means axiomatic that effectiveness in patrol work insures the possession of the talents required for criminal investigation. The need, therefore, is for a more flexible personnel policy which will permit temporary assignments to the detective division and transfer back to patrol work of all those found unsuited for investigative tasks. Temporary assignments of patrolmen to the detective division are made in San Antonio and Dallas. The patrol division may also be utilized as a testing ground for future detectives by permitting patrolmen to investigate minor offenses. By this expedient special aptitudes and talents may be located and noted for future appointments.³

²See Frank W. Martin, "The Detective," *Police Chronicle and Constabulary World*, No. 47 (October 4, 1935), 5-6; George Lister, "The Detective in the World Today," *The Police Journal*, XXIII (April, 1937), 11-12; and Scientific Crime Detection Laboratory of Northwestern University School of Law, *Outline of Scientific Criminal Investigation* (1936).

³The Criminal Investigation Department of the London Metropolitan Police recruits its personnel from the ranks of uniformed constables who have served at least one and not more than seven years in that rank. After a preliminary trial in plain clothes and recommendation by a superior officer, the applicant must pass an entrance examination prior to permanent appointment as a detective. John Moylan, *Scotland Yard and the Metropolitan Police* (London,

Size of Staff

The numerical strength of the detective division in relation to the total police personnel varies from city to city, as is shown in Table XLVII. In the five cities above 100,000 population the

TABLE XLVII

DETECTIVE PERSONNEL STRENGTH IN CITIES OVER 40,000 POPULATION, 1937

Cities	Total Detective Personnel	Detective Super- visory*	Personnel Rank and File	Per Cent of Total Police Personnel in Detective Division
100,000 Population and Over:				
Dallas	42	5	37	12.9
El Paso	16	4	12	17.5
Fort Worth	40	5	35	18.5
Houston	80	13	67	24.5
San Antonio	38	8	30	17.3
40,000-100,000 Population:				
Amarillo	2	1	1	4.6
Austin	13	1	12	20.0
Beaumont	7	1	6	12.3
Corpus Christi	5	1	4	14.7
Galveston	9	1	8	12.2
Laredo	3	---	3	8.6
Port Arthur	1	---	1	4.6
Waco	5	1	4	9.3
Wichita Falls	4	1	3	9.3

*Includes the positions of sergeant, lieutenant, captain, and chief of detectives.

percentage of the total force assigned to detective duties runs from 12.9 in Dallas to 24.5 in Houston. Similar differences are found in the cities of 40,000 to 100,000 population. The numerical strength of the detective divisions in some of the cities, notably Houston and Austin, is higher than that normally found throughout the country. The fact that in these two instances detectives serve also as patrolmen acts to decrease the actual number engaged in full-time criminal investigation.

Special Details

The assignment of members of the criminal investigation division to specialized duties is a common practice in the larger Texas

1934), 200-01. See also Public Administration Service, *Survey of the Police Department of Greenwich, Connecticut* (1937), 25-26.

departments. The bulk of the detective division in the five largest cities is assigned to burglary and theft investigations. In Houston 51 per cent of the total personnel of eighty has been assigned to burglary and theft investigation, including the pawnshop and junk shop details. Likewise in San Antonio 47.4 per cent of the detective division works on burglary and theft cases, which include bicycle theft, car theft, pawnshops, and junk shops. A smaller detail is found in both Dallas and Fort Worth, in each of which approximately 25 per cent of the total detective personnel is engaged in burglary and theft investigation. The assignments to other details in this population group vary widely. All of the departments have homicide and robbery, auto theft, and "bunco" details. In Fort Worth and Houston the vice squad is included as a detail of the detective division; in the remaining cities vice control comprises a separate division. San Antonio has an arson squad, while Fort Worth has assigned two detectives to work exclusively on cases involving Negroes.⁴ Alone among the major cities Houston assigns two detectives for work among juvenile delinquents as a part of its crime prevention program. Subdivisions of detective investigations on the basis of special assignments, with two exceptions, are not found in the departments of cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population. The small number of detectives in these cities makes necessary the handling of all types of investigations by members of the investigation division.

Confusion of Criminal Investigation and Patrol

A study of the actual duties performed by detectives indicates that in some cities a clear distinction has not been made between criminal investigation and patrol. In some instances the detectives are actually patrolmen and a major portion of their time is occupied in cruising in patrol cars. This is particularly true of Houston, where thirty-eight detectives under the supervision of five lieutenants have been assigned to five districts and are divided on a basis of three shifts which rotate monthly. The detectives patrol their respective beats in squad cars and deal not only with burglary

⁴Negro detectives are found in San Antonio, Houston, and Galveston. Their work is confined exclusively to cases involving members of their own race.

and theft cases but also with other types of offenses which are ordinarily left to the patrol division. In such cases the detectives are little more than plainclothes patrolmen. The assigning of detectives to patrol duty also is found in San Antonio and Austin. The practice of using detectives for patrol work is little more than a subterfuge for paying such officers additional compensation. The files of every department contain cases requiring further investigation, and the detective division should be utilized for clearing these cases. If detective assignments to patrol duty are compelled by a lack of cases requiring criminal investigation, it is probable that the patrol division is undermanned. There is the further fact that detective assignments to patrol duty lead to disputes and friction between the two divisions involved.

Territorial Assignment

A further practice deserving mention is the requirement that detectives confine their activities to specific territories within the city. No Texas city is sufficiently large to justify the territorial assignment of detectives.⁵ The difficulties involved in the supervision of the detective personnel demand that where possible the administration of the criminal investigation division be controlled from headquarters, with the detective being permitted to direct his activities to any part of the city to which the investigation may lead. The most obvious violation of this rule is the practice in Houston, where an investigation may not be pursued beyond the boundaries of the district to which the detective is assigned without the permission of the lieutenant in charge. A similar practice is found in San Antonio, where the permission of the captain of detectives must be secured before an investigator may cross the boundary lines of his district. In the three remaining major cities

⁵The merits of centralization and decentralization in detective administration have been debated for many years. The survey of the Chicago Police Department concluded that "because of the large number of major crimes committed and the great area of the city, central management of the vast majority of investigations probably never can be successful." Citizens' Police Committee, *Chicago Police Problems* (Chicago, 1931), 148. For further discussion of this point see Raymond B. Fosdick, *American Police Systems* (New York, 1920), 333-38; Elmer D. Graper, *American Police Administration* (New York, 1921), 184-91; and Moylan, *op. cit.*, 197-202.

districts are absent and investigations may be conducted without this geographical limitation. No geographical distribution of the detective division is found in the smaller cities.

The creation of rigid detective districts raise new problems of supervision and control. In the metropolitan cities where numerous precinct stations are found it is perhaps necessary that detective personnel be decentralized and attached to local divisions. In smaller cities, however, the use of districts not only limits effective investigative activities but also leads inevitably to interdivisional jealousies and lack of coördination of the activities of the detective division.

Personnel Distribution

Chronological personnel distribution is not as important in detective as in patrol administration. The bulk of criminal investigation is conducted during daylight hours, as it is necessary that complainants, witnesses, and informers be interviewed when they are most readily available. A minimum number of detectives is required to be on duty at all times, however, in order that serious offenses may be investigated immediately. Conforming to general practice, the bulk of the detective personnel in Texas police departments has been assigned to daylight duty. In San Antonio all but two of the fourteen detectives assigned to the burglary and theft division work from 7 A.M. to 11 P.M. Likewise in Dallas fourteen of the sixteen members of the burglary and theft detail are assigned to duty from 7 A.M. to 10 P.M. The same practice is observed in Fort Worth, with seven of the nine members of the burglary and theft detail working from 7 A.M. to 4 P.M. Similar daylight assignments are made in all cities in the largest population group. The Houston burglary and theft detail differs from general practice, however, in that its members work on an eight-hour shift which does not correspond to the patrol division's tours of duty. An equal number is assigned to each of three eight-hour periods into which the day is divided.

The occurrence of homicides and robberies is not confined to any particular period of the day, and each of the five major cities makes provision for their investigation regardless of the time of the offense. Six members of the homicide detail in Dallas are

divided into three shifts working from 8 A.M. to 12 P.M., with homicide investigation from 12 P.M. to 6 A.M. being taken care of by members of the burglary and theft detail. In the remaining cities the members of the homicide and robbery detail are assigned to daylight duty with the provision ordinarily that they are subject to call at all times.

The ordinary length of the detective's working day is ten hours, although the necessity for the completion of investigations quite often extends this period to twelve or fourteen hours. Moreover, the occurrence of grave offenses during the night makes it necessary to call on members of this detail for work at off hours. For this reason the members of the criminal investigation division spend more time on actual duty than those of any other division of the police department. The nature of their work is such as to make difficult any accurate estimate of the number of hours spent on investigations.

With one exception the detective personnel in Texas police departments in cities over 40,000 population is assigned to work in pairs. While at one time this was a general practice, the recent tendency has been to assign cases to individual detectives for investigation.⁶ Only in Beaumont are assignments made to individual detectives. In view of the limited detective personnel available in most Texas departments, the abandonment of this practice in favor of single assignments undoubtedly would considerably increase the number of investigations completed. There is, however, strong opposition to this method of assignment, the principal argument being that considerations of safety necessitate the assignment of cases to pairs of detectives.

Personnel Supervision

The uncertain character of the work of the detective division and the necessity for visits to all parts of the city make the problem of supervision a difficult one. Unlike patrolmen, detectives ordinarily are not assigned to any one sector and hence field supervision as conducted by the sergeant of the patrol division is impossible. The recent motorization of the detective personnel and

⁶August Vollmer, *Survey of the Metropolitan Police Department of Kansas City, Missouri* (1929), 50-51.

the addition of radio communication, however, have permitted a closer control by headquarters. With one exception the detective personnel of the large cities is not required to call in at periodic intervals and as a result detectives ordinarily cannot be reached for assignment from headquarters except when they are in their cars. As the facilities of two-way radio communication become available for detectives, a closer supervision and control of their work may be expected.

An important method of detective supervision is found in the use of police records. The most promising device which has been made available for detective administration is the assignment record recommended by the International Association of Chiefs of Police.⁷ Only two of the five major Texas police departments utilize detective assignments. In both Dallas and San Antonio a daily as well as monthly check on the activities of the detective is possible through their employment of an excellent system of detective assignment records. In one city in this group the only record of cases assigned is that kept on bits of scrap paper by the detectives themselves.

It is at this point in the supervisory process that the follow-up officer stationed in the record division aids in assuring the proper investigation and disposition of cases assigned.⁸ The follow-up officer maintains a constant check on the progress of all investigations and secures the filing of adequate supplementary reports. The current lack of an application of the follow-up principle in detective administration in Texas police departments makes it possible for cases to be closed or declared unfounded without a full explanation. An adequate follow-up system is dependent in turn upon the centralization of records, which is still not found in the major police departments.

While the methods employed by individual investigators will differ, there is no question of the imperative necessity of complete written records of all steps taken in the conduct of a particular inquiry. When the original complaint is made and the offense

⁷Committee on Uniform Crime Records, International Association of Chiefs of Police, *Uniform Crime Reporting* (New York, 1929), 89-91.

⁸The duties of the follow-up officer are given in Chap. X.

noted the case may be closed by a brief investigation and the entire procedure noted on the original complaint form. On the other hand, many cases require much additional investigation, and supplementary reports containing careful accounts of the action taken are necessary in order that a complete case record may be maintained. Written detective reports are almost unknown in Texas police departments, with the result that the original offense report constitutes practically the only record of any case. Conversations with individual detectives reveal almost universal antagonism toward "paper work," which is regarded as an unnecessary activity productive of no real results. For purposes of supervision, however, written reports of investigations are imperative if the activities of individual investigators are to be accurately assessed.⁹

Scientific Crime Detection

The recent development of scientific crime detection and its adaptation for use in the pursuit of ordinary detective inquiries has increased enormously the potential efficiency of the investigator. The most common of these aids found in Texas cities is fingerprint identification. The first known fingerprint bureau was established in Beaumont in 1913, and since that time this device has been adopted universally in the larger Texas cities. In the departments in cities over 100,000 population, the number of prints is large, ranging from 165,000 in El Paso to approximately 300,000 in San Antonio. Similarly, in the departments in the 40,000 to 100,000 population group fingerprint files are maintained which in most instances are large. Several well-equipped bureaus are found in cities below 40,000 population, although the difficulty of securing adequate financial support has made it necessary in some instances for fingerprint collections to be maintained at the private expense of the chief of police.

The unusually large fingerprint collections found in the larger Texas cities are attributable in considerable part to the lack, until

⁹No example is found in any Texas city of a contingent fund available for use by the police in paying for information. In several cities in the United States a small sum is made available to the chief of police for disbursement to individuals from whom information is obtained. Some of the federal agencies have found such funds to be indispensable in the gathering of information.

1935, of a state bureau of identification. While these cities exchange fingerprints with the Federal Bureau of Investigation at Washington, the element of distance has necessitated fingerprint exchanges among a number of Texas cities in order that the identification records may be available for immediate use.¹⁰ The recent establishment of a State Bureau of Identification and Records at Austin as a division of the Department of Public Safety has eliminated the necessity of exchanges with other cities, since fingerprint identifications may be made from the Austin office for any city in Texas within a brief period.¹¹ Exchanges with the State Bureau in the future will make available prints filed not only by municipal police officers but also by sheriffs and other law enforcement agencies within the State. Despite this development, however, a number of departments continue to maintain an elaborate exchange of prints. The work entailed in classifying and filing these inter-city prints places a needless burden on the fingerprint bureaus of many cities. Single fingerprint systems are found in three cities in the state, each of which is over 40,000 population. In one city the single fingerprint system has been especially effective in identifying juvenile offenders, particularly in the instance of burglary and theft cases.

In addition to utilizing fingerprints in criminal investigation, the larger Texas departments are maintaining *modus operandi* (M. O.) files. These files are not of equal merit in that many are not classified in sufficient detail and a readily accessible cross-index is not uniformly available. Perhaps the best of these files is to be found in Dallas, where a comprehensive M. O. file in which photographs of all criminals are included has been established in the identification bureau. The tendency to divide the record-keeping function among several divisions manifests itself here,

¹⁰Of a total of 21,275 fingerprints filed in the Fort Worth Identification Bureau in 1936, 6,233 were obtained by exchanges with seven Texas cities. Fort Worth Police Department, *Annual Report, 1936* (1937), 27. During the same period the Austin Police Department fingerprinted a total of 1,040 prisoners and received 8,064 fingerprints from other departments. Austin Police Department, *Annual Report, 1936* (1937), 24.

¹¹C. G. McGraw, "The Texas State Bureau of Identification and Records," *Sheriffs' Association of Texas Magazine*, VI (November, 1937), 15-18.

however, in the presence of an additional M. O. file in the burglary and theft detail of the detective division. Fort Worth also maintains an M. O. file which includes a photograph of the offender and is readily accessible through a visible index system, although it is not as extensive as the Dallas file. San Antonio, Houston, and Fort Worth utilize M. O. files of varying degrees of merit, but their use is hampered by the lack of a comprehensive index and by inaccessibility. Two cities below 100,000 population maintain M. O. files, one of which (Galveston) is unusually complete. In all Texas departments the effective use of M. O. files is hampered by the lack of a unified record division.

In recent years an increasing number of departments have given attention to the methods of scientific crime detection as a necessary adjunct of the well-equipped investigation division.¹² Cases which formerly remained unsolved are now being cleared by calling upon the laboratory technician for assistance. Because of the expense involved, scientific crime detection as a regular part of the detective division is only beginning to emerge in Texas departments. Dallas has made the most progress in this direction through the addition of microscopes and a limited equipment for chemical analyses to the standard facilities of the identification bureau. Occasional experimentation has been conducted in other cities, but no complete police laboratory is found. In view of the recent establishment of the State Bureau of Identification and Records and the provision of facilities for firearms identification, chemical analyses, and other scientific activities, the maintenance of expensive scientific devices by Texas police departments is not necessary. The principal consideration here is the instruction of the investigation division in the preservation of evidence which may be submitted to the laboratory technician. The instances where the laboratory will be needed will be relatively few, as most of the work of the criminal investigator is of a character not requiring the services of the scientist.¹³

¹²See Don J. Finney, "Police Duties at Crime Scenes," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXVII (July-August, 1936), 231-48; (September-October, 1936), 412-41.

¹³An interesting example of an effort to pool the scientific talents available in a particular area for the use of small police departments is found in the

Training

While the continual pursuit of investigative work by the detective leads to the development of special methods and the acquisition of much information concerning particular types of offenses, the need for occasional retraining is still present. The general attitude toward training by investigators in Texas police departments, however, is that advancement to the rank of detective indicates there is no further need for training. A few of the detectives have attended the National Police Academy maintained by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and several police short courses conducted within the state. Departmental training programs as a regular feature are not found, however, and indeed the limited size of the criminal investigation divisions in Texas cities probably makes impracticable the maintenance of an elaborate training program. The lack of training facilities has been remedied in part by the inauguration of a regular school for municipal police and local law enforcement officers under the auspices of the State Department of Public Safety. The dangers of inbreeding by the selection of detectives from the uniformed ranks can be counteracted only by periodic contacts with outside agencies following the latest techniques in criminal investigation.

Special Investigators

The duties of criminal investigation are not confined to the detective division in the larger Texas cities. The work of the detectives, particularly in cases involving serious offenses, parallels and sometimes duplicates the activities of a corps of special investigators attached to the office of the district attorney, who is the prosecuting officer for all cases heard in state courts. These special investigators have for their principal duties the investigating of

Crime Detection Laboratory of New Jersey, located at Elizabeth, New Jersey. The organization is non-profit in character and is headed by a member of the Elizabeth police department, with its membership including chemists, doctors, dentists, photographers, biologists, geographers, and attorneys. This laboratory "is a form of coöperative organization, designed to provide various small law enforcement agencies with professional investigative assistance of the type with which the larger municipalities of the nation are equipped" (Personal communication from G. R. Steffens, President, dated July 26, 1937).

cases and compiling of evidence for use in trials. In the pursuit of their work they enjoy the same powers of arrest as the sheriff, and may exercise them anywhere within the city.¹⁴ Coöperation between the detectives and the special investigators may or may not be secured, depending on the local political situation. Systematic efforts on the part of the police to provide a permanent avenue of contact is found in Dallas, where a detective is assigned to full-time duty to work with the special investigators. He is correctly termed a "contact man," and his duties embrace all outside investigative activities in cases involving coöperation with other law enforcement agencies. At various times in the past detectives have been assigned to full-time duty with the district attorney's office in other cities, but this practice is not followed except in Dallas at the present time.

Coördination of Patrol and Criminal Investigation

The tendency toward a rigid demarcation between the duties of the criminal investigation and patrol divisions acts to exclude the uniformed patrolmen from making investigation of any cases other than those which can be handled by immediate action.¹⁵ The practice of assigning the detective division chiefly to the investigation of the more serious offenses and utilizing uniformed patrolmen for the investigation of misdemeanors not only permits a more intelligent selection of detective personnel, but if properly systematized will serve to coördinate the activities of these two primary divisions. The independent status of the detective division in the larger police departments has militated against the profitable exchange of information between the detective and uniform personnel and has been

¹⁴*Revised Civil Statutes*, Arts. 326g, 326k-l.

¹⁵As the patrol officer ordinarily is the first to reach the scene of a crime, the question arises as to the time when the patrolman should retire in favor of the detective. One police executive confers the following duties on the patrolman: "the arrest of the perpetrator at the scene of the crime; his pursuit if apprehension seems likely; the transmission to headquarters of a description of the escaped criminal; the care of the critically injured; the preservation of the crime scene and physical evidence; the preliminary investigation, determining the who, where, when, why, what, and how; and the notification of the criminal investigation unit, according to regulations of the department." Wilson, *op. cit.*, 28.

instrumental in elevating the criminal investigation division almost to the level of an independent police department.¹⁶

To the police executive the integration of the activities of the detective and patrol divisions is a problem in coördination.¹⁷ One of the major causes of the lack of coördination is found in the organization itself, which fails to make clear the duties of each division and its place in the police program. Another factor conducive to jealousy is the higher pay of detectives and the greater freedom of action accorded them in their work. A feeling that long service in the patrol ranks is indicative of lack of ability in police work pervades the detective ranks. The opening up of the investigative field to patrolmen and the coördination of the activities of these two divisions through a unified organization undoubtedly would institute a more fruitful relationship between patrol and criminal investigation.

¹⁶The present feeling of separatism militates against effective criminal investigation, since the patrolman is more familiar with the activities on his beat than any other person. In the course of a recent investigation in a large Texas city a pair of detectives were seeking a particular suspect and covered the beat of a patrolman for several days during the search. The patrolman observed their activities, but the detectives vouchsafed no information as to their work. Finally the patrolman broached the subject and on learning the object of their inquiry promptly located the suspect. This is one example of the many ways in which the beat patrolman can be of great assistance to the investigator.

¹⁷The rivalry between the patrol and detective divisions is of long standing and appears to be generally prevalent in municipal police administration. For specific examples see Bruce Smith, "Metropolitan Police Systems," in Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, *The Missouri Crime Survey* (New York, 1926), 49-50; and Leonard V. Harrison, *Police Administration in Boston* (Cambridge, 1934), 129-32.

CHAPTER XV

TRAFFIC REGULATION

From the beginning of organized efforts at municipal crime control the police have been responsible for patrolling and conducting criminal investigations. Traffic regulation, on the other hand, is a recent addition which has grown by leaps and bounds since the beginning of this century.¹ The duties relating to traffic regulation, originally assumed by the patrol division, have become so specialized and complex as to necessitate the creation of a separate unit of the uniformed police known as the traffic division. Nor is traffic a primary concern of the larger cities alone; smaller police units also must devote a considerable portion of their attention and personnel to traffic regulation.

The growth of the traffic problem in Texas is indicated by the precipitate increase of motor vehicle registrations. In 1917, the first year for which complete registration figures are available, the number of vehicles was 194,720. By 1936 registrations had increased to 1,528,071. In terms of population there were 10.82 persons per vehicle in 1920 and 3.98 in 1936.² In 1935 there was an average of 4.79 persons per registered motor vehicle in the United States.³ On the basis of population, therefore, the number of registered motor vehicles in Texas is slightly higher than the national average. Accompanying this rapid increase in the number of motor vehicles has been a steady growth of fatalities and property losses resulting from motor vehicle accidents. It has been estimated that in 1936 there were 37,800 fatalities resulting from motor vehicle accidents in the United States with a total loss exceeding a billion-and-a-half dollars.⁴

¹It was not until 1903 that the police commissioner of New York City issued the first police regulations for the control and direction of traffic. Elmer D. Graper, *American Police Administration* (New York, 1921), 160-61.

²Based on figures supplied by the Texas Highway Department.

³National Resources Committee, *Technological Trends and National Policy* (Washington, 1937), 182.

⁴National Safety Council, *Accident Facts* (1937), 31-57.

The rapid growth of motor traffic early led to laws for its regulation. Since these laws, or ordinances, carried penalties for their violation, it was concluded that the police were the proper enforcement agency, despite the fact that the administration of other regulatory activities of the city was placed in departments whose functions were primarily non-police in character. As the ramifications of the traffic problem began to emerge, the fact that traffic regulation parted ways with traditional police functions came to be apparent.⁵ The enforcement of traffic ordinances and regulations no longer constituted the sole duties of the traffic police. Many of the questions relating to traffic regulation involved engineering in one of its various forms. Along with enforcement and engineering, educational efforts to instruct drivers in the methods of traffic safety became another phase of traffic regulation.

The question has arisen, therefore, whether it is desirable to retain traffic regulation as a duty of the municipal police. It is maintained by those favoring the creation of a separate traffic department that the police should not be burdened with this duty and that the traffic problem may best be handled by an agency properly equipped with the talent and materials required to administer this activity in accordance with modern needs.⁶ Those opposing this divorce insist that the traffic problem is closely related to other police duties and that therefore the traffic division, embracing engineering and education in addition to enforcement, should be placed in the police department.⁷ Whatever the outcome of this controversy may be, at present the major responsibility for traffic regulation remains with the municipal police.

TRAFFIC ADMINISTRATION

Organization

While the organization of the traffic division varies from city to city, there will ordinarily be found in all specialized police departments a unit administering a part or all of the duties relating to

⁵August Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society* (Berkeley, 1936), 119-48.

⁶Miller McClintock and Sidney J. Williams, *Municipal Organization for Street Traffic Control* (Municipal Administration Service, New York, 1930), 14.

⁷T. W. Rochester, "The Engineer in a Police Department," *The Police Journal*, XXIII (September, 1937), 9-11.

traffic regulation.⁸ The activities of such a division embrace the enforcement of traffic ordinances, the investigation of accidents, the location and installation of traffic control devices except where these duties have been conferred on an outside (state) agency, and certain related functions including schoolboy patrols and the integration of the efforts of civic agencies interested in the traffic problem.⁹

Separate traffic divisions have been established in all Texas cities over 40,000 population. In three of the five largest cities the traffic division is separate from the patrol division and is on the same organizational level as patrol and criminal investigation. In the two remaining departments traffic and patrol are combined in a uniform division, but even here the duties relating to patrol and traffic regulation are rigidly separated under a common divisional head. Similar practices are found in the departments in cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population. The limited police personnel in the cities below 40,000 population usually precludes any extensive effort at traffic regulation. Many cities below 10,000 population nevertheless make some sort of organized effort at traffic regulation, although the lack of specialization means that this activity normally will be assigned to the patrol division.

Personnel Selection and Training

To the police executive and the captain of the traffic division, traffic administration presents the familiar problems of the selection, distribution, and supervision of personnel. In common with the prevailing custom, Texas police executives generally place their younger and more vigorous officers in the traffic division and ordinarily select them from among men with some experience in the patrol division. While the current demands for courtesy and the ability to handle violators in an effective manner condition the selection of traffic patrolmen, there is the additional factor that the

⁸F. W. Frahm, "The Organization of a Traffic Division," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1937-38* (1938), 114-22.

⁹National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters, *Creating Safer Communities* (1935), 12. See also Edward J. Olstyn, *A Survey of Traffic Accident Investigation and Related Activities* (University of Southern California, 1937), 10-17.

effective officer must possess an elementary knowledge of the administration of the municipal traffic program. The superficial appearances of simplicity in the activities of a traffic officer at a street intersection may serve to detract attention from the need of competence in the performance of that duty.¹⁰

In view of the fact that the success attending the efforts of the traffic officer will condition not only the success of the traffic enforcement program but also the public attitude toward the police, it is evident that a semispecialized training program is as necessary for the traffic officer as for the patrolman and detective. In addition to instruction in traffic ordinances and regulations, this type of training must give attention to the use of tact and diplomacy in approaching offenders. While the prospective traffic officer requires instruction in the rudiments of his work prior to entering upon active duty, no Texas city as yet has developed a well-defined pre-service training program. The embryonic traffic officer is expected to gain a knowledge of traffic laws and ordinances on his own initiative. In-service training schools are maintained in only two of the fourteen cities above 40,000 population. The lack of a training program here is indicative of a failure to realize the significant returns which may be expected to accrue from a well-trained traffic personnel.

Personnel Distribution

The extent of the task of traffic regulation is indicated in Table XLVIII, which shows the distribution of the traffic personnel in the fourteen cities over 40,000 population. With two exceptions more than 20 per cent of the total personnel of the police department is assigned to the traffic division, with one department using almost two-fifths of its officers for traffic duty. In both cities which show a small traffic personnel, traffic officers are concealed as patrolmen, since the practice there is to combine patrol and traffic duties.

Cities below 40,000 population report traffic officers, but the absence of well-defined traffic divisions in these departments and the absence of specialization preclude a definite determination of

¹⁰For an account of the duties of the traffic officer, see Clarence P. Taylor, *A Traffic Officers' Training Manual* (National Safety Council, Chicago, 1930), 117-36.

the extent of the traffic problem as indicated by personnel distribution. In these smaller departments patrol and traffic duties are ordinarily combined and the attention given to traffic regulation depends upon the local situation. The presence of arterial highways in many instances has led to a serious traffic problem which has not been studied carefully because of the lack of equipment and training.¹¹

TABLE XLVIII

TRAFFIC PERSONNEL STRENGTH IN CITIES OVER 40,000 POPULATION, 1937

Cities	Total Police Personnel	Traffic Personnel	Per Cent Traffic Personnel is of Total
100,000 Population and Over:			
Houston	326	96	29.4
Dallas	319	102	32.0
San Antonio	220	59	26.8
Fort Worth	226	50	22.1
El Paso	92	24	26.1
Subtotal	1,183	331	27.9
40,000-100,000 Population:			
Amarillo	44	11	25.0
Austin	65	18	27.7
Beaumont	57	17	29.8
Corpus Christi	34	13	38.2
Galveston	74	9	12.2
Laredo	35	2	5.7
Port Arthur	22	5	22.7
Waco	54	12	22.2
Wichita Falls	43	13	30.2
Subtotal	428	100	23.3
Total	1,611	431	26.7

Contrary to the trend toward motorization of the patrol in the largest cities, traffic officers, as shown in Table XLIX, are still

¹¹Many of these smaller police departments have installed numerous stop signs and some electrical signal devices. While some states have limited municipal freedom in the placement of traffic control devices on state highways by requiring the approval of a state agency, Texas cities continue to take such action on their own initiative. "Parking and Other Traffic Restrictions in Cities of 4,000 to 10,000 Population," *Texas Municipalities*, XXIV (July, 1937), 194. See also Dwight McCracken, *Traffic Regulation in Small Cities* (Municipal Administration Service, New York, 1932).

TABLE XLIX

DISTRIBUTION OF TRAFFIC PERSONNEL IN CITIES OVER 40,000 POPULATION, 1937

Cities 100,000 Population and Over:	Total Traffic Personnel		Foot Patrolmen		Motorcycle Patrolmen		Accident Investigators		All Others	
	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total
Houston	96	60.4	58	30.2	29	7.3	2	2.1		
Dallas	102	36.2	37	29.4	30	7.9	27	26.5		
San Antonio	59	55.9	33	25.4	15		11	18.7		
Fort Worth	50	54.0	27	34.0	17		6	12.0		
El Paso	24	66.6	16	12.5	3		5	20.9		
Subtotal	331	51.6	171	28.4	94	4.5	51	15.5		
40,000-100,000 Population:										
Amarillo	11	54.5	6	45.5	5		3	16.7		
Austin	18	61.1	11	22.2	4					
Beaumont	17	64.7	11	35.3	6					
Corpus Christi	13	46.2	6	46.2	6		1	7.6		
Galveston	9	22.2	2	77.8	7					
Laredo	2	100.0	2							
Port Arthur	5	20.0	1	60.0	3		1	20.0		
Waco	12	50.0	6	50.0	6					
Wichita Falls	13	30.7	4	38.5	5		4	30.8		
Subtotal	100	49.0	49	42.0	42		9	9.0		
Total	431	51.1	220	31.6	136	3.4	60	13.9		

largely on foot. Particularly is this true in the cities above 100,000 population, which have assigned a large percentage of the available traffic personnel to fixed-point duty at traffic intersections. The disparity between the number of foot and motor traffic officers is not as great in the cities from 40,000 to 100,000 population, doubtless because of the smaller personnel. The general practice of assigning motor patrolmen to work in pairs is followed in the distribution of the motorized traffic officers. In only one of the five major cities do motorcycle officers patrol singly, though some variation is found in the remaining cities, where in one instance motorcycle officers work alone during the daytime. In all instances foot traffic patrolmen are given individual assignments. It is significant to note that in Dallas, which is faced with a serious problem of traffic congestion, the practice of requiring traffic motorcycle officers to patrol singly has not resulted in any injuries or fatalities except those suffered through accidents. Despite the contention in some quarters that an arrest by an officer must be made in the presence of another officer in order to secure corroboration of testimony, the current practice has not been found to affect the record of traffic convictions in that city. The practice of requiring a double motorcycle patrol is indicative of the disinclination to study carefully the available personnel and to distribute it in the most effective manner.

The evils associated with special patrol details apply likewise to the traffic division. Motorcycle officers are called upon to conduct funeral processions, guard school crossings, attend public gatherings, and devote their time to many duties not directly related to traffic enforcement. A study of the activities of the traffic motorcycle officers in Fort Worth led to the discovery that almost all their efforts were being devoted to duties of a special nature. Systematic traffic patrol had virtually disappeared from that city. As a result of this study special details were reduced to a minimum and motorcycle officers were released to devote more of their time to regular patrol.

Another practice which requires study is that of assigning traffic patrolmen to intersections which are equipped with mechanical traffic control devices. An observation of this practice in the larger cities leads to the conclusion that entirely too large a portion of the traffic personnel is being used in this work. The argument of

police executives that the officer is needed to supplement the control device is perhaps indicative of a need for modernizing the control method used and studying the requirements of these intersections. In many cities supervision of traffic at intersections is being successfully undertaken by motorized officers who cover a number of congested points and thereby relieve the traffic foot patrolmen for duty elsewhere. There has been little experimentation, however, and many police executives have taken it for granted that fixed-point traffic duty is essential.

As in the instance of the patrol division, chronological considerations determine the distribution of the traffic personnel. Studies indicate that the peak of the traffic movement is reached in late afternoon from 5 to 6 P.M.¹² While other considerations will determine in part the need for traffic patrol, the major consideration in personnel distribution is the nature and extent of the traffic movement. Of the larger Texas cities, only one attempts to distribute the traffic personnel in proportion to the rise and fall in the traffic flow. In Dallas twelve patrolmen are on duty from 7 A.M. to 3 P.M. and thirteen from 10 A.M. to 6 P.M. A third detail composed of twelve men is on traffic duty from 3 to 7 P.M. By reason of this assignment twenty-five traffic foot patrolmen are on duty during the peak traffic hours from 3 to 6 P.M. In addition to the overlapping of foot traffic patrolmen, a similar procedure is followed in the chronological distribution of the motorcycle traffic patrolmen, with the result that the maximum strength of the traffic division is available at the time of greatest need. A contrary practice may be noted in Houston where approximately 75 per cent of the traffic foot patrolmen are on duty from 7 A.M. to 3 P.M., 15 per cent from 3 P.M. to 11 P.M., and 10 per cent from 11 P.M. to 7 A.M. While the distribution of motorcycle traffic officers in Houston is more in accord with need, the fact that three-fifths of the officers are on foot indicates that a large portion of the traffic personnel is on duty at a time when the traffic movement is at a low point. In some of the remaining cities the same number of officers have been assigned to duty on the two shifts from 7 A.M. to 11 P.M. in order to accommodate the practice of monthly rotation. As in the case of

¹²National Safety Council, *op. cit.*, 40-41.

the patrol division, efforts to distribute the traffic personnel on a scientific basis have been largely absent and the resulting loss of manpower has diminished police accomplishments in the field of traffic regulation.

Personnel Supervision

Direct supervision of the field personnel is as important in traffic as in patrol administration. Foot traffic patrolmen may be more readily supervised through field inspection by reason of the "fixed-post" character of their assignment, than the members of any other primary division. Field inspection by a superior traffic officer is found only in Dallas, where a patrol sergeant is assigned to each tour of duty. Periodic observations of the foot traffic officers are made during each shift. No other city in this population group has made adequate provision for field supervision. It is not uncommon for superior officers of the traffic division to be assigned office work which in many instances is largely clerical in nature. The high percentage of traffic officers in the larger Texas cities makes it imperative that there be adequate supervision. With the installation of police radio the supervision of motorcycle traffic officers can be more readily effected, in view of their availability for instantaneous communication.

The application of correct practices in the selection, distribution, and supervision of the traffic personnel is the direct responsibility of the police executive and the traffic captain. An examination of the size of traffic divisions in Texas cities indicates a higher percentage of assignments to traffic work than the average throughout the country.¹³ As yet no conclusive determinations have been made of the number of traffic officers required to conduct an adequate program of traffic enforcement. The evidence appears to warrant the conclusion that insufficient attention has been given in Texas cities to the basic considerations of traffic personnel distribution and supervision. The almost universal complaint that the police

¹³A survey by the National Safety Council in 1928 showed that in more than 100 cities the average traffic force contained from three to four men per 10,000 population and constituted approximately 20 per cent of the total police personnel. National Safety Council, *Traffic Work of Police Departments* (1928).

department is lacking in manpower often is an indication of a lack of attention to these fundamentals. Traffic divisions may need more men but their first task is to prove that the personnel they have is being efficiently used.

ENFORCEMENT

The Enforcement Index

The primary duty of the traffic police is that of enforcing traffic laws and regulations. In the early development of traffic regulation no indices were available for measuring the effectiveness of enforcement. Sporadic drives were conducted by the police against traffic violators without reference to the traffic problem as a whole, and while a temporary decrease of accidents and violations might be effected in individual instances, no permanent standards evolved because of the failure to isolate the various features of a program of enforcement and to weigh their effectiveness. Recent research has led to the development of a measurement which is being increasingly adopted. Known as the "enforcement index," this measurement is the ratio of convictions for moving violations to personal injury accidents, and is intended to constitute a measure not only of the quantity but also of the quality of traffic enforcement. Arrests for traffic violations are of course ineffective unless they result in convictions. The experience of a number of cities attests to the conclusion that where convictions are secured in a large majority of traffic arrests, there is an accompanying reduction in the number of personal injury accidents. It has been suggested that an acceptable index is ten to twelve convictions for moving violations for each accident resulting in personal injury.¹⁴ Experience indicates that an enforcement index above ten or twelve is subject to the law of diminishing returns and ordinarily does not justify the additional personnel and time required.¹⁵

¹⁴Curtis Billings, *Accident Prevention Bureaus in Municipal Police Departments* (Safety Division, International Association of Chiefs of Police, and Northwestern University Traffic Safety Institute, 1937), 25-26.

¹⁵It must be emphasized that the various indices employed in traffic enforcement mean nothing except as they aid in the main task of traffic regulation. For a forceful discussion of this point, see Ray Ashworth, "Traffic Law-

The maintenance of an enforcement index as a measure of the effectiveness of enforcement is found in only one Texas city. Despite the fact that the maximum proposed is ten to twelve, Dallas in recent years has uniformly maintained a higher ratio. While many arrests are made in the remaining cities, no serious attempt to attain the optimum enforcement index is made. As shown in Table L, traffic arrests in most instances comprise the bulk of the total

TABLE L
TRAFFIC ARRESTS IN CERTAIN CITIES, 1936

Cities	Arrests Total	Traffic Arrests	
		Number	Per Cent of Total
Austin	6,612	4,906	74.2
Beaumont	15,213	9,730	64.0
El Paso	24,335	18,968	77.9
Fort Worth	27,239	15,918	58.4
Houston	143,643	111,635	77.7
San Antonio	30,370	8,239	27.1

arrests made by the police, but the lack of sufficient records and the failure to analyze these arrests have prevented the adoption of an index. The employment of the enforcement index, as one measurement of the effectiveness of traffic administration, is an aid which would prove useful in all departments with separate traffic divisions.

Selective Enforcement

Another device employed by traffic administrators is selective enforcement, which involves the concentration of the efforts of the enforcement unit on the more serious violations which appear to be causing a majority of the accidents.¹⁶ It is well known that the incidence of traffic violations varies according to the type of offense, location, and time of day, and a selective traffic enforcement program attempts to direct attention to those locations and types of offenses which appear to be involved in the more serious accidents.

Enforcement," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIX (May-June, 1938), 119-27.

¹⁶National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters, *The Motorized Police Officer and Selective Law Enforcement* (1936).

By this means a more effective distribution of personnel is effected and those violations are cared for which constitute the greatest menace to traffic safety. It is well known that 100 per cent enforcement of all traffic regulations is an impossibility with the available personnel.¹⁷ In the conduct of a selective enforcement program, the assistance of the engineering unit is needed for it may well be that antiquated or unreasonable traffic ordinances are causing trouble.

The Accident Prevention Bureau

A further example of the tendency toward specialization within the traffic division is found in the accident prevention bureau. The major duties of this unit are (1) to investigate all accidents and (2) to conduct an accident prevention program.¹⁸ With special training and proper equipment, the personnel of the accident prevention bureau makes investigations of such serious offenses as "hit-and-run" cases, accidents resulting in fatalities and serious injuries, and the like. Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, and Austin have established accident prevention bureaus which constitute a separate unit within the traffic division. Experience in Texas cities and elsewhere proves their usefulness and accident prevention appears to be another duty which shortly will become firmly fixed on the traffic division.¹⁹

Parking Regulations

One of the most vexing traffic problems of all is that of enforcing parking regulations. A large portion of the traffic personnel has had to be assigned to this duty in order to secure even a limited

¹⁷A study of a typical intersection in a city with forty traffic officers led to the conclusion that if the conditions existing there were typical of all other intersections within the city some two-and-a-half million traffic violations would occur daily. It was estimated that 14,000 policemen in addition to the 40 then on duty would be required to arrest every violator of a traffic regulation. From a study by Clarence P. Taylor, quoted in Vollmer, *op. cit.*, 114.

¹⁸Billings, *op. cit.*, 4.

¹⁹In March, 1937, the Dallas accident prevention bureau investigated forty-one cases relating to hit-and-run incidents, negligent collisions, and negligent homicide, of which thirty were cleared by arrest and eleven discovered to be unfounded. In addition, the squad assigned to this task pursued ordinary traffic patrol.

observance. The technician has come to the aid of the police in recent months, however, through the development of the parking meter, a device which permits the automatic identification of an over-parked car.²⁰ Originally installed in Oklahoma City in 1935, parking meters have been adopted in a growing number of cities throughout the country.²¹ In Texas ten cities have installed parking meters, though one later abandoned them after an experimental period. Of the nine cities now using meters, five are those over 100,000 population. In the first constitutional test of the parking meter in Texas its validity was upheld,²² but all the points raised regarding its use and the expenditure of the income received are by no means judicially settled. From the point of view of the police executive, use of the parking meter makes possible the release of traffic personnel for other duties, and in addition may provide a new source of revenue for the police department. The implications of its use thus are important for municipal police administration and the favorable reception generally accorded the parking meter seems to point to its eventual adoption in smaller cities.

Records

The ultimate effectiveness of traffic enforcement activities will be determined in large part by the adequacy of the system of traffic records. Not only is this true of the enforcement phase of the work of the traffic division, but permanent remedial measures in engineering and education must be based on an accurate knowledge of the results of current efforts. In Texas police departments the maintenance of traffic records is assigned ordinarily to the traffic division, but only one city employs a statistician for the analysis of traffic records and the administration of the system. The use of traffic records in the remaining cities in the higher population groups varies, although in most instances a complete

²⁰American Municipal Association, *Parking Meters* (Report No. 111, 1936).

²¹League of Virginia Municipalities, *Experience of Municipalities Throughout the Country with Parking Meters* (Report No. 220, 1938).

²²*Harper v. City of Wichita Falls*, 105 S.W. (2d) 743 (1937). See also Stuart A. MacCorkle, "Texas' First Parking Meter Case," *Texas Municipalities*, XXIV (December, 1937), 312-15.

set of records is not maintained. Common activities of the traffic divisions in cities over 40,000 population are the preparing of spot maps indicating traffic accidents and the making of reports to the National Safety Council. It is probable that, save in the largest cities, traffic records should be centralized in the record division so as to release for active duty a portion of the traffic personnel now engaged in the performance of clerical tasks. The centralization of traffic records with the remaining police records does not preclude the employment of a statistician by the traffic division where there is a need for special studies. The important consideration here is the avoidance of duplication in record-keeping. There is also the further fact that traffic records need to be available for convenient use by the other divisions.

Coördination of Patrol and Traffic

Divisions

As in the case of the patrol and criminal investigation divisions, so in that of the traffic division is a feeling of independence and self-sufficiency discovered. In view of the limited number of motorized traffic patrol officers it is evident that the patrol and traffic divisions must coöperate in making arrests for the more flagrant traffic violations. Judging from the origin of arrests in Texas cities the general view is that traffic violations are the sole responsibility of the traffic division. Few summons are issued by patrolmen. Even where the patrol and traffic divisions have been combined under a single head a feeling of independence continues to persist. Coördination in this instance may be fostered by a centralization of records but primary responsibility remains with the police executive.

"Ticket-Fixing"

Directly affecting the quality of traffic enforcement is the traditional practice of "ticket-fixing," for which the police ordinarily are not responsible. The extent of this practice varies in Texas cities. In one city ticket-fixing has been almost completely eliminated by a complicated ticket system which provides for final settlement with the city auditor. Under this system, which has been adopted elsewhere, the traffic ticket is made in triplicate and the officer is charged with each ticket by the city auditor. The power to dismiss traffic tickets is limited to the captain of the traffic

division, and even he can only recommend such action to the judge of the corporation court, who actually makes the decision. In the remaining cities the practice varies from wholesale dismissals to the requirement that all summons be handled by the corporation court. The extent of dismissals in some cities is indicated by the small percentage of traffic arrests which finally result in the filing of cases in the corporation court.

The effect of a widespread evasion of traffic summons on the morale of the traffic division and the quality of traffic enforcement is apparent and need not be further considered. Even where traffic summons are issued and cases are not dismissed outside the corporation court, there is need of a definite policy of requiring all offenders to answer to any summons that may be issued. One city has some 40,000 traffic summons in the files of the traffic division which have been ignored and regarding which the police have taken no action. While responsibility for this situation lies primarily with the courts, the enforcement program of the traffic division undoubtedly is affected adversely by such leniency.

The Traffic Violations Bureau

The traffic violations bureau as a device for the expeditious handling of minor traffic cases without the necessity of a personal appearance in the corporation court has been developed in recent years.²³ While the statutes of Texas do not permit a plea of guilty before a person other than a duly established judge or recorder of the corporation court, a traffic offender wishing to plead guilty may post a cash bond in the amount of the fine customarily assessed for his particular offense, and authorize the chief of police, acting as attorney, to enter a plea of guilty. A traffic violation bureau has been established in one Texas city as a subdivision of the record division. By this plan the past record of every traffic violator is available for reference. The fine assessed against those guilty of past violations is much higher than for first offenders. In the remaining cities it is a common practice to permit the desk sergeant or another designated official to accept small cash bonds which are forfeited when the case is called for trial. While this is clearly an

²³See Dillard Gardiner, "Traffic Bureaus Set Up to Handle Minor Violations," *Popular Government*, IV (December, 1936), 9, 24.

expedient and may not be legally valid, it is effective in reducing congestion in the corporation court and in saving the time and patience of those summoned to appear in court for a traffic offense.

The Schoolboy Patrol

The business of protecting school children from traffic accidents ordinarily consumes a large portion of the traffic patrolman's time. In an effort to relieve the police of some responsibility in this matter school traffic patrols have been widely adopted.²⁴ These patrols are formed of boys who have shown a special aptitude for work of this type; their work consists mainly of keeping public school children out of the street except when they may cross by means of a traffic control device or by personal direction. Under these conditions the schoolboy patrol does not direct traffic but simply governs the movement of school children until it is safe for them to cross the thoroughfare. The schoolboy traffic patrol is important for the police executive as another device for distributing traffic personnel in a more effective manner.

Police executives are no longer forced to conduct the enforcement phase of the traffic program in a hit-or-miss fashion as was formerly the case. Aids in the form of the enforcement index, selective traffic enforcement, parking meters, and other services permit an approach to the measurement of the quality of the enforcement program. There is much truth in the statement that under existing conditions the activities of the traffic division can be evaluated more definitely than those of the remaining divisions.

ENGINEERING

The engineer first assumed a definite role in the traffic program when it became apparent that traffic violations were not due entirely to innate human perversity and that some of the factors responsible for accidents and injuries might be eliminated through the installation of traffic control devices and other remedial measures. In the early years of the automobile the police were able to regulate the moderate volume of traffic with a minimum of expert attention.

²⁴National Safety Council, *Standard Rules for Operation of School Safety Patrols* (1937).

As the number of motor vehicle registrations mounted, however, and as citizens began to demand closer attention to traffic regulation in their immediate areas, the police discovered that the amateur approach was no longer feasible and that other methods would have to be invoked. The new profession of traffic engineering came into existence in answer to the need for technical knowledge in eliminating traffic hazards.

Practice varies as to the location of the traffic engineer. In some cities the engineer is found in the traffic division of the police department, while elsewhere he serves on the staff of the public works department. The Safety Division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police is of the opinion that traffic engineering is not a proper function of the police and that the traffic engineer should be attached to the municipal engineering department.²⁵ Regardless of his location, there is a definite need for close collaboration between the engineer and the traffic division.²⁶ Not only does the engineer need to be thoroughly familiar with the organization and personnel of the traffic division, but he must have ready and convenient access to its records. In the interests of administrative coordination, it is necessary in those departments where the traffic engineer is a part of the traffic division, that his efforts be integrated with the general program of traffic regulation. Cities in excess of 250,000 population ordinarily require the services of a full-time traffic engineering staff; those below that figure may secure the assistance of a part-time engineer.²⁷ In smaller cities the department of engineering or public works can be of assistance in conducting studies requiring the application of engineering knowledge.

Traffic engineers are found in two Texas cities at the present time. Dallas employed a traffic engineer in 1935 and conducted a

²⁵H. F. Hammond and F. M. Kreml, *Traffic Engineering and the Police* (National Conservation Bureau and Safety Division, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1938), 3.

²⁶Earl J. Reeder, "The Relation Between the Engineer and the Police," *Proceedings, Fortieth Annual Convention of the International Association of Chiefs of Police* (1933), 263-66.

²⁷These are the recommendations of the National Conference on Street and Highway Safety as quoted in New York State Traffic Commission, *Creating Safer Communities* (1937), 39.

traffic survey, as a result of which a long-term traffic control plan has been instituted.²⁸ Austin in 1936 also placed a full-time traffic engineer in its police department. In the remaining cities traffic surveys have been conducted in several instances but as yet no definite steps have been taken to carry out the recommendations made.

EDUCATION

Some attention must be devoted to education in the sense of a persistent publicity program if the police are to realize on their efforts to improve traffic enforcement. In this connection the police are drawn directly into the important field of public relations, regarding which they have been almost uniformly delinquent in the past. Largely because of the active support of civic agencies and interested citizens, numerous advisory traffic commissions have been instituted in various cities to mobilize popular support for the traffic enforcement program.²⁹ Several of the larger Texas cities have agencies of this type. The most active commission is that found in Dallas, which furnished the impetus for the employment of a full-time traffic engineer and the installation of bureaus of traffic education and accident prevention in the Dallas Police Department. The bureau of traffic education includes among its activities the sponsoring of safety contests among operators of truck fleets, issuing a monthly educational bulletin, supervising the activities of the "T-men,"³⁰ obtaining films relating to traffic, preparing newspaper articles and radio talks, and providing, through a speakers' bureau, for talks before civic clubs. The bureau employs a full-time director who is assisted by a stenographer and the statistician of the traffic division.

While the advisory traffic commission is potentially a valuable adjunct in the enforcement program of the city, the police executive is constantly faced with the possibility that an organization of this type may attempt to take over the reins of the traffic division and

²⁸Dallas Police Department, *A Survey of Traffic Conditions in the City of Dallas* (1937).

²⁹New York State Traffic Commission, *op. cit.*, 15-24.

³⁰An anonymous group of individuals pledged to report violations to the traffic division. Warnings are sent by the traffic division to the violators but no charges are filed.

impair his administrative control. This danger is one of the possible byproducts of citizen advisory committees in municipal administration. There is the further possibility that the activities of the advisory commission in the improvement of traffic regulation may emphasize the traffic division at the expense of the patrol and criminal investigation units and lead to an unequal distribution of personnel among these primary divisions. Once again, then, the police executive is faced with the problem of striking a balance among the several divisions on the basis of the available personnel resources.

CHAPTER XVI

SPECIAL FUNCTIONS

While the major portion of the police personnel will be assigned to tasks relating to patrol, criminal investigation, and traffic regulation, these duties by no means exhaust the functions of the municipal police. Among the more prominent miscellaneous police duties are licensing, provision of public ambulance service, supervision of paroled convicts, inspection, registration of voters and verification of poll lists, enumeration of inhabitants, temporary care of the destitute, conduct of free employment agencies, operation of dog pounds, policing strikes, and preparing for such catastrophes as earthquakes, fires, and floods.¹ The general effect of assigning such functions to the police has been to detract attention from their primary duties and to impose on them responsibilities for which they ordinarily are not trained.

Two functions not included in the list enumerated above deserve special treatment. These are vice control and crime prevention. All of the larger police departments are vitally concerned with the problems arising from vice.² Crime prevention, in the sense of an active police interest in juvenile delinquents before they become habitual criminals, is perhaps the latest newcomer to the ranks of the primary functions. The ramifications of vice present a constant threat to departmental integrity and morale; the crime prevention program operates within the rather narrow limits set by the traditional police view. In either case police leadership is put to a severe test.

¹Bruce Smith, "Municipal Police Administration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXLVI (November, 1929), 3. Suggestions as to the duties of the police in labor disputes have been presented in a series of articles in *International City Managers' Association, The City's Role in Strikes* (1937). Proposals for a disaster plan are given in "Does Your City Have a Disaster Plan?" *Police Chiefs' News Letter*, IV (July, 1937), 1.

²Vice as used here includes the offenses relating to prostitution, gambling, narcotics, and liquor.

VICE CONTROL

The dynamics of vice in municipal police administration has been violently revealed in the history of almost every department at one time or another. Formerly conducted on an individualistic basis, vice has begun to take on some of the aspects of corporate organization. Indeed, the "syndicate" in many cities has come to assume a position which now and then has rivaled that of the municipal government itself.³ The reluctance of the police chief to discuss vice and the methods undertaken to cope with it is in marked contrast to the often voluble explanations of two-way radio or the department's record system. The chief of police is painfully aware of his discomfiture on past occasions when organized civic groups and influential citizens have descended on him with the ultimatum that vice must be rooted out forthwith. He knows, even if they do not, that any activity which satisfies the appetites of so many as do prostitution, gambling, narcotics, and liquor cannot be removed as easily and conclusively as a traffic hazard.

The possibilities which vice affords for police corruption has led to a reconsideration of this problem and a general questioning as to whether it is an activity which can be handled by the police in view of their equipment and training. Prostitution raises many questions of a medical and psychiatric nature and is interwoven with the problem of social welfare. Violations of gambling, narcotics, and liquor laws constitute offenses which are often organized on a state-wide basis and necessitate state participation if intelligent action is to be secured. On the other hand, many of the traditional criminal offenses are intimately related to vice, and separation of responsibility for the conduct of investigations of these two types of crime would entail divided control with all its known deficiencies. Yet there is the definite possibility that dissatisfaction with the administration of vice control by the police is caused in part by the fact that they are ill-equipped to handle these offenses and have resorted to traditional police procedure with generally ineffective results.

³V. O. Key, Jr., "Police Graft," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL (March, 1936), 624-36.

It may well be that another municipal department or a state agency could better assume this responsibility.⁴

Organization

Current methods of vice control in Texas police departments reveal close adherence to customary practice. In the cities below 100,000 population the sporadic character of vice control has resulted in the assignment of such cases as arise to the detective or patrol division. In the larger departments the duties of vice investigations are conferred on a separate group of officers ordinarily known as the "vice squad" which may constitute (1) a separate division or (2) a section of the criminal investigation division. The largest number of vice operatives is found in Dallas where twelve men form a plainclothes division under a captain who is responsible to an inspector. The plainclothes division has no formal relations with the detective or patrol divisions and constitutes virtually an independent division of the police department. A similar separation of the vice squad is found in San Antonio where the two members operate under the direct supervision of the chief of police. The second type of organization has been followed in Houston and Fort Worth where the vice squads are special details of the detective division and operate in a manner similar to the remaining details.

The growing practice of separating vice control from the criminal investigation division is an indication of the constant temptations to which members of this detail are submitted, and represents an

⁴The view of one police executive is that "Drug addiction, like prostitution, and like liquor, is not a police problem; it never has been, and never can be solved by policemen. It is first and last a medical problem, and if there is a solution it will be discovered not by policemen, but by scientific and competently trained medical experts whose sole objective will be the reduction and possible eradication of this devastating appetite." August Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society* (Berkeley, 1936), 118.

A somewhat different view holds that the police are concerned but that a "complete separation should be made between the functions of the legal (police and courts) and the health divisions of governmental administration in relation to the problems of prostitution and the venereal diseases." William F. Snow, "Relations of Police and Health Officials to the Problems of Prostitution and the Venereal Diseases," *Journal of Social Hygiene*, XVIII (June, 1932), 340-41.

effort to isolate vice operatives from the remaining personnel so as to preclude corruption.⁵ In addition to permitting the necessary specialization of officers in vice investigations, the practice of separation resolves an inherent conflict between the procedures followed in the apprehension of vice and other criminal offenders. A detective who is vigorous in the enforcement of vice regulations will incur the enmity of persons in this field who would otherwise serve as sources of information. Yet if a member of the vice squad maintained friendly relations with these individuals he would be derelict in the performance of his duty.⁶ The divorce of vice control and criminal investigation permits the latter division to utilize sources of information which otherwise would not be available.

Personnel

The assignment of police officers to vice operations may be either permanent or temporary. In Houston, Fort Worth, and San Antonio the members of the vice squads are on permanent assignments until dismissal, demotion, or promotion occurs. In Dallas the vice division is manned by plainclothesmen, a classification between patrolmen and detectives. Patrolmen who evidence an aptitude for criminal investigation are tested in plainclothes ranks and those found to possess the required talents are eventually promoted to the position of detective. Retention in the plainclothes division is not permanent and periodical promotions or demotions are made to protect the department from possible infections which permanent assignments might bring. This practice has been recommended for adoption elsewhere.⁷

It is to be doubted, however, if vice investigation is the proper type of initial work for those entering the detective division and whether the same purpose is not secured by the divorce of vice and

⁵See Portland Police Survey Commission, *Survey of the Bureau of Police, Portland, Oregon* (1934), 21; and Citizens' Police Committee, *Chicago Police Problems* (Chicago, 1931), 27.

⁶O. W. Wilson, "Standards for Administration of a Detective Bureau," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1937-38* (1938), 29.

⁷See, for example, John A. Greening, *Survey of the Police Department of the City and County of Honolulu* (1932), 175.

criminal investigation duties. To be sure, a close surveillance of vice operatives is needed at all times, but occasional lapses in the integrity of members of the vice squad may be met through dismissal rather than transfer unless the tenure provisions under the existing merit system are too rigid. Moreover, specialization is required here as elsewhere, and unless new appointees are inducted into the vice division gradually, its work will suffer through time lost in training recruits. It may well be that if vice control continues as a police function, it will be necessary to set up a new classification of vice operatives, not included in the traditional promotional ladder, with qualifications, duties, and compensation differing from, and in some instances higher than, those required of ordinary detectives.⁸

Policewomen

In contrast to practice elsewhere, Texas police departments have never made use of policewomen in the field of vice control.⁹ Police executives in Texas cities adhere to the traditional police view and want no assistance from women police, despite the increasing utilization of policewomen nationally in protective patrol and in the investigation of cases involving women and children.¹⁰ As it is the custom to elevate members of the patrol division to the rank of detective or plainclothesman, there is little or no personnel in the police department trained in the techniques of welfare work. Consequently such contacts as are made with community welfare agencies are sporadic. Particularly is this noticeable in cases of prostitution where offenders ordinarily are subjected to uniform treatment irrespective of personal differences.

⁸Leonard V. Harrison, *Police Administration in Boston* (Cambridge, 1934), 150.

⁹Matrons, whose work involves the handling of women prisoners, are commonly employed in the larger Texas cities. Matrons are to be distinguished from policewomen; the latter engage in active police duty with assignments which vary in different cities. See Eleonore L. Hutzel, "The Policewoman," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXLVI (November, 1929), 108.

¹⁰Eleonore L. Hutzel, *The Policewoman's Handbook* (New York, 1933).

Treatment of Vice Offenses

Of all the aspects of the vice problem, that relating to prostitution is the most difficult to regulate and control. Periodically, investigations of prostitution in individual cities have resulted in recommendations looking to segregation and licensing under municipal control.¹¹ With the merits of this proposal the police are not concerned, but it may be noted that the failure to recognize prostitution as a social problem, rather than, as at present, a criminal offense, has made it necessary for the police to utilize methods which do not always have the sanction of law. In the larger Texas cities the identity of prostitutes is ordinarily known through a file containing their names, addresses, and photographs. Constant additions are made with new arrivals. In an effort to check the virulence of disease the practice in several cities is to insist that prostitutes submit to weekly or semimonthly examinations by a physician, who is usually on the staff of the health department, and to require the payment of an examination fee. Enforcement of this regulation is secured through the apprehension for vagrancy of those who fail to present weekly health certificates. In some cities prostitutes found to be diseased are placed in the city jail, where they undergo treatment by the municipal health authorities. The threat of vagrancy charges is used to coerce those unwilling to undergo treatment. The presence of large federal military establishments in several cities makes control of prostitution even more difficult.

Not so enlightened is the policy followed in other cities. Some have failed to institute health examinations and instead have evolved an indirect form of licensing through periodical arrests and fines. Again, the practice is followed of detaining prostitutes during the early evening hours and releasing them after midnight. In an effort to limit the operations of professional bondsmen, no formal charges are made. While these measures may serve as temporary palliatives, they are seriously deficient through the total neglect of medical attention.

¹¹As recent examples, see "San Francisco's Police Investigation," *The Toledo City Journal*, XII (April 17, 1937), 185-85, 194; and Courtney Ryley Cooper, *Here's to Crime* (Boston, 1937), 444-46.

Gambling presents a problem no less serious than prostitution. In some instances a rigid policy of repression is followed and continuous raids are conducted to break up organized gambling. Elsewhere community standards are more liberal and only the more flagrant cases are prosecuted. In the latter instance the State Department of Public Safety has felt impelled to step in and conduct raids. Recriminations in some instances have followed from city officials outraged at this invasion of the municipal police domain.

In common with a general attitude prevalent throughout the United States, the Texas municipal police have tended to shift the burden of narcotic law enforcement to state and federal officials.¹² Specialization in narcotic violations is found only in Houston where one member of the detective division has been assigned to full-time duty in coöperating with federal investigators. Such investigations as are made in the remaining cities constitute a duty of the vice division. One narcotic, marihuana, is peculiarly a local problem, since, unlike other drugs, it may be grown almost anywhere and is therefore not subject to surveillance at the international border. The enforcement of liquor laws has been largely left in the hands of the enforcement division of the State Liquor Control Board. Exceptions to this practice occur in a few cities where community standards demand a more stringent enforcement program than is normally found. It may be said that a major portion of the attention of the vice squads in the cities studied is devoted to prostitution and gambling.¹³

While the social attitudes and policies which may prevail in a particular community are no immediate concern of the police, the

¹²H. J. Anslinger, "The Narcotic Problem," *Proceedings of the Attorney-General's Conference on Crime* (Washington, 1934), 355-56. The geographical location of Texas on an international boundary has contributed to raising the number of convictions for violations of the federal narcotic laws to a much higher level than the average of the United States.

¹³An attempt to obtain information regarding the number of vice offenses failed due to the absence of any systematized method of recording arrests. The general rubric "vagrancy" is employed to cover a number of offenses. The number of arrests is inconclusive in that some departments do not make formal arrests for minor violations. The need for detailed statistics on the various vice offenses is apparent.

distinction between vice and other criminal offenses should be noted. The efforts of the police to apprehend a burglar or "hit-and-run" driver are universally applauded; the same zeal in ferreting out vice offenders may meet reactions ranging from general inertia to organized opposition. Are the offenses combined under the rubric "vice" properly the sole responsibility of the police or should they be regarded as manifestations of social maladjustments which cannot be remedied by the simple expedient of placing them under the ban as criminal offenses? Such improvements as have been effected in Texas cities are largely the result of methods which at best are only indirectly sanctioned by law. As presently equipped the police are not prepared to deal intelligently with this problem, nor, perhaps, would public opinion support their efforts if they were so prepared. There are police executives who realize the futility of most of their efforts at vice control and would be only too glad to relinquish this task to some other agency. There is, however, no immediate prospect of such a development.

CRIME PREVENTION

From the inception of modern police departments the preventive function as exemplified in the activities of the patrol division has constituted one of the primary police duties. The basic purpose of the patrol division is the distribution of uniformed police personnel in such a manner as to exercise a repressive and therefore a preventive influence on potential criminal violators. Until recent times the term "crime prevention" as applied to the municipal police was used with just this connotation. Latterly, however, crime prevention has become the duty of a new and separate division in the police department, with its own program and its own method of operation. Crime prevention involves a consideration of the causes of criminal action and looks to the formation of a definite program of activity among juvenile delinquents and other individuals with antisocial tendencies who may by treatment and mental readjustments be diverted from criminal action.

Expansion of the Police Horizon

The effect of the adoption of crime prevention as a primary function of the police has been to broaden the scope of their

activity and bring them into more or less intimate contact with the public and private welfare agencies of the community.¹⁴ The police, by virtue of the nature of their duties, have ordinarily remained aloof from the remaining departments of government. In addition, the repressive character of their work has limited their field of operation, in the public mind, to criminal offenses. With the increase of crime prevention divisions and the more common acceptance of this function as an ordinary police duty, the police-woman has made her appearance in the police department, a domain formerly regarded as being reserved exclusively for men. Moreover, the coördination of the crime prevention activities of the police necessitates an understanding on the part of every member of the department of the role of the police in prevention and thus neutralizes to some extent much of the former spirit of brutality and sadism displayed in police work. The emerging trends in this segment of police activity point toward an increasing integration of the police with the remaining welfare agencies and may have important consequences in reshaping and redirecting the traditional pattern of police thinking.¹⁵

The ability of the police to assume these new duties is a matter of some doubt. The ordinary police executive, trained in the ranks and intimately acquainted with conventional police methods, is ordinarily not cognizant of the possibilities in the field of crime prevention. Because of the long association of the police with all types of offenders and in light of the common view that police success is to be measured in terms of arrests, it is not surprising that crime prevention, often instituted through pressures exerted by outside agencies, has failed to take root and develop as a proper responsibility of the police.

To the police executive, therefore, the adoption of a crime prevention program presents a number of problems which are not at first apparent. It is certainly inadvisable for the police to attempt

¹⁴James K. Watkins, "The Function of a Police Department in a Community Social Welfare Program," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1933 (1933), 107-14.

¹⁵This broader view of police duties was anticipated by Arthur Woods in a volume entitled *Crime Prevention* (Princeton, 1918).

to duplicate the efforts of outside agencies engaged in crime prevention activities. Rather, the police must restrict themselves to crime prevention work which is mainly related to police activities and coördinate their efforts with outside organizations concerned with recreational activities, character building, and the many aspects of child welfare. The major portion of the attention of the police will continue to be devoted to ordinary criminal offenses, and the efforts of the crime prevention division should be considered as but a means of assisting in the reduction in the number of those who engage in antisocial activities.

Experience of Texas Cities

The pitfalls which confront a police crime prevention program are evidenced in the experience of Texas cities. Only in Houston is there found any specialized effort toward crime prevention. In this instance two members of the detective division are detailed on a permanent assignment to work with the county probation officer. Their association with the county agency has tended to make uncertain the extent of municipal responsibility and little attention has been accorded their efforts by police or city authorities.

On past occasions two municipalities have engaged the services of policewomen. In one city the appointment of the policewoman was imposed from above and the person employed was a social worker with experience which appeared to fit her for the tasks of crime prevention. She received no encouragement from the police executive, however, and was not accepted by the rank and file of the police personnel, with the result that a proper coördination of her activities with those of the remaining police divisions was not effected. In the other city the situation was much the same, except that the appointment of the policewoman was brought about by the insistence of citizens who were convinced of the need for police action to round out the civic crime prevention program. Despite the employment of a competent individual, the program failed through the absence of support from police and municipal authorities. These failures may constitute evidence of deficiencies in municipal and police leadership, but they indicate the necessity of strong departmental support or the backing of the municipal

executive until such time as the policewoman becomes an accepted member of the police organization.

The Crime Prevention Division

The crime prevention division is by no means a common unit in the police organization. A study of 220 cities in 1930 indicated that only 13 had entered actively into this field, and some of these were small cities with a limited police personnel.¹⁶ Four years later 29 crime prevention divisions were found in 300 cities, of which only 9 employed more than 5 persons.¹⁷

The youth of the crime prevention division has led to varying assignments for its members. These variations may be illustrated by a consideration of the crime prevention division in a small and in a large city. In Berkeley the policewoman is not assigned to street patrol, which is assumed by the ordinary patrolman, or to the custodial care of women and children detained by the police. Her efforts are directed exclusively to complaints involving women and children. Juvenile delinquents who have come into police hands and predelinquents who may be evidencing antisocial inclinations are investigated and interviewed with a view toward deciding as to their treatment. If at all possible, cases of this type are not sent to the juvenile court, but are referred to the child guidance clinic of the Berkeley health center or to some other agency which may be able to provide the necessary assistance. Cases assigned in this manner are followed up by volunteer assistants. In addition to this primary task the Berkeley policewoman engages actively in the integration of community efforts in predelinquency work; the conduct of a publicity program through speeches, newspaper articles, and other means; the fostering of interest in juvenile delinquency through the development of a volunteer service from

¹⁶Hubert R. Gallagher, *Crime Prevention as a Municipal Function* (Syracuse University, 1930), 8.

¹⁷Richard W. Morris, *Organization and Administration of a Municipal Police Department* (Albany, 1934), 33. The current confusion in terminology is illustrated in this study by the reports given to the question as to the operation of a crime prevention division. Many police chiefs described the efforts utilized in preventing criminal activities and others described the duties of the patrol division.

university and other sources; and the promotion of a general program designed to arouse interest in child welfare.¹⁸

The duties of a crime prevention division in a larger city embrace a number of activities which in smaller departments cannot be undertaken because of lack of personnel. Juvenile work in Los Angeles as an adjunct of police activity had its inception in 1909 when one officer was assigned to investigate all juvenile cases. This unit was known as the Juvenile Bureau and continued its work until 1924, when it was set up as a separate unit and given the title of Crime Prevention Division. At the present time this division has a personnel of 143, of which 10 are superior officers, 91 are policemen assigned to juvenile work, and 26 are policewomen; the remaining 16 perform clerical duties.¹⁹ The director of the division is a captain of detectives and the qualifications for this office are outstanding executive ability and comprehensive knowledge of social problems and child psychology. The principal units of the Crime Prevention Division are:

(1) A boys' detail which gives attention to some 5,000 juvenile arrests and complaints involving boys. A complete investigation is made of each case and the investigating officer may outline a program of rehabilitation or refer the case to the juvenile court or to a social agency.

(2) A juvenile missing persons detail which makes investigations of all cases involving persons under the age of eighteen who are missing from home.

(3) A juvenile traffic detail charged with responsibility for all complaints of traffic violations committed by persons under eighteen years of age.

(4) A detective bureau which makes investigations of all the crimes committed by adults against children.

(5) A policewomen's detail, working under the supervision of the lieutenant in charge of the detective bureau, which is assigned to all cases coming to the attention of the police involving delinquency, predelinquency, and dependency of girls up to and including seventeen years of age and boys up to and including eight years of age.

¹⁸Elisabeth Lossing, "The Functions of a Policewoman," *City Manager Yearbook, 1931* (1931), 155-60. For the number and type of cases handled by the Berkeley division and the methods employed, see Berkeley Police Department, Crime Prevention Division, *Annual Report, 1933-1934* (1934), 12-28.

¹⁹Los Angeles Police Department, Crime Prevention Division, *Delinquency Prevention Methods as Applied by Police Juvenile Officers* (1937), 1.

(6) A predelinquency detail with the responsibility of protecting all children from dangerous association with undesirable companions and of investigating cases revealing a lack of proper parental control and supervision.

The officers of the predelinquency detail are assigned to patrol the various territorial divisions and make investigations of all juveniles found on the streets at night. In addition, the predelinquency detail has instituted a program of recreation and coöperates with the school department in investigating truancy cases. Additional crime prevention units have been established to supervise dance halls, handle domestic problems, investigate applications for parole and probation involving men and women convicted of misdemeanors in the municipal court, maintain a juvenile jail in which youths are detained, and provide a complete record of every juvenile case coming to the attention of the division. To induce public coöperation a regular public relations program is maintained which attempts to bring to the attention of the public the various services of the division. The Los Angeles Crime Prevention Division engages in a large number of activities which in other cities are assigned to outside agencies.²⁰

The experience of cities which have engaged in crime prevention activities points toward the creation of a separate division in the police department.²¹ The division would be on a plane of equality with the remaining primary divisions and the director would report directly to the chief of police. The director would be responsible for coördinating crime prevention activities with the work of the remaining primary units so as to insure the reference of all cases involving juveniles and dependent persons to the proper agency for attention. The qualifications of a crime prevention officer are such as to exclude in most instances any consideration of incumbent officers for the position. This may be noted from the following qualifications which have been proposed for the director of a crime prevention division: "(1) a general knowledge of the

²⁰See Walter M. Germain, "The Crime Prevention Unit of the Police Department," *The Police Journal*, XXIII (December, 1936), 5-6, 17-18; (January, 1937), 15-16, 21.

²¹For a suggested plan of organization of a crime prevention division, see Gallagher, *op. cit.*, 44-54.

field of criminology and of delinquency in particular; (2) the confidence of social service agencies in the community; (3) sympathy toward underprivileged and handicapped persons, yet firmness in dealing with difficult situations; (4) a capacity for administration, preferably with experience in some field of governmental administration; and (5) willingness to meet members of the force on their own level and ability to win their confidence and coöperation."²²

Personnel distribution is an important factor in the administration of the crime prevention division, as studies have revealed that juvenile offenses have a distribution pattern different from that of ordinary crimes.²³ The principle of "radial expansion" as applied to the larger American cities indicates the presence of a number of rather definitely prescribed zones, consisting of the business section at the center, the factory zone, zone of workmen's homes, residential zone, and commuters' zone, each with its own peculiar problems as regards delinquency. The efforts of the crime prevention division will be concentrated primarily in the "delinquency zones" where living and economic conditions are such as to lead to social maladjustments. In the early part of the crime prevention program the attention of the available personnel will be concentrated in these zones.

The Coördinating Council

In an effort to integrate the activities of the police, juvenile officer, school authorities, social workers, and others interested in juvenile activities, the coördinating council which originated in Berkeley has been adopted in many cities.²⁴ The coördinating council as originally organized drew representatives from the schools, police department, and social welfare agencies in an effort to guarantee attention to delinquent children who were developing behavior habits indicative of delinquency. As later developed in Los

²²Harrison, *op. cit.*, 142.

²³See Citizens' Police Committee, *op. cit.*, 181; and Glenn Reilly, "Geography of Chicago Crime," *Police "13-13"*, X (September, 1936), 9-11, 17.

²⁴August Vollmer, "Coördinated Effort to Prevent Crime," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XIX (August, 1928), 196-210.

Angeles, representatives of two additional groups were added, including character-building organizations and civic agencies.²⁵

The principal purpose of the coördinating council is to secure through a well-rounded program the participation of the various welfare groups. Ordinarily the council's members do not participate directly in rehabilitative activities. The role of the police in the coördinating council is important, for cases involving juvenile delinquents usually come to their attention first. Through the efforts of the coördinating council, individual cases may be assigned to the agency which is best equipped for aiding in the necessary readjustment. Coördinating councils have not as yet been organized in any Texas city, although steps to this end have been taken in Fort Worth.²⁶

Activities of Certain Crime Prevention

Agencies

Recent developments in the crime prevention programs of some of the larger cities seem to indicate an expansion of police activity to include direct efforts toward rehabilitation. The Los Angeles Crime Prevention Division, in addition to performing the duties noted above, coöperates with the recreation department in the conduct of various recreational activities including tournaments, entertainments, and the operation of a summer camp for underprivileged children.²⁷ New York City has established a Juvenile Aid Bureau, formerly known as the Crime Prevention Bureau, which is directed by a deputy police commissioner and engaged in an active program of establishing neighborhood councils about the city to direct attention to the need for recreational facilities. The Police Athletic League, sponsored by the Juvenile Aid Bureau, conducts a widespread recreation program with a view to curbing

²⁵K. J. Scudder, "The Work of the Coördinating Council as a Factor in Crime Prevention," *American Police Review*, I (July-August, 1937), 27-31.

²⁶Organization of a council was proposed by a committee representing police and welfare agencies, which was appointed by the Fort Worth Central Council of Social Agencies. See *A Report on the Extent and Nature of Juvenile Delinquency in Fort Worth and Vicinity, and a Proposed Plan for its Control and Prevention* (February 25, 1937).

²⁷Los Angeles Police Department, *Annual Report, 1935-36* (1936), 35-36.

juvenile delinquency.²⁸ The "Big Brother" Bureau of the San Francisco Police Department, originally formed to rehabilitate juvenile delinquents, has expanded its activities to include active coöperation with all agencies engaged in character building and organized recreation. The members of the bureau and the volunteers participate directly in rehabilitation and visit homes and organize neighborhood activities in an effort to secure remedial action.²⁹ Since 1934 the Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia have engaged in the active organization of boys' clubs designed to afford supervised recreation for children where not otherwise available. Departmental plans look to an enlargement of the number of clubs and the establishment of a summer camp for underprivileged children.³⁰

The Port Arthur Junior Police

The only instance of an activity of this sort in Texas cities is found in Port Arthur, which in 1934 established the Junior Police. Designed as a character-building agency, the Junior Police render service to the regular police in the direction of traffic, the supervision of public gatherings, and the like. Entrance into the Junior Police is based on qualifications set up by the department and recruiting is undertaken in coöperation with school officials, municipal welfare agencies, and the county probation officer. Juvenile delinquents are admitted to the junior force and some worthwhile changes have been effected among them. The Junior Police do not perform regular police duties and at all times are under the direct supervision of a member of the department.

The Need for Limited Police Action in Crime Prevention

While the efforts of police departments in activities of this type are laudable, the question may well be asked if the necessity for such action does not arise from a deficiency in the recreational and welfare facilities available for juveniles. There is some doubt as

²⁸Byrnes McDonald, "The Juvenile Aid Bureau," *Yearbook, International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1936-37* (1937), 191-96.

²⁹San Francisco Police Department, *Annual Report, 1935-36* (1936), 7.

³⁰District of Columbia Metropolitan Police, *Annual Report, 1935-36* (1936), 2.

to the advisability of police participation in such widespread programs in view of the pressing need for police attention to ordinary criminal offenses. The major portion of the police personnel will continue to be concerned with criminal investigation, patrol, and other components of the traditional police program, and any movement which promises to decrease the personnel available for these duties is disquieting to police executives. Whatever may be the ultimate aims of social welfare work, the police department is not at present a welfare agency and cannot be expected to undertake a program of juvenile recreation and rehabilitation without limiting its effectiveness in other spheres. There is need for a clear recognition of the fact that the crime prevention division of the police department is only one of a number of community agencies interested in this problem and that the two principal duties of the police in this field are "(1) to exercise compulsive authority, such as cannot be exercised by non-police agencies, when that alone will suffice in handling situations conducive to delinquency, and (2) to serve as a clearing-house in bringing to the notice of public and private agencies cases requiring their ministrations."³¹

For municipal police administration the adoption of crime prevention as a primary function may have two important results. The acquisition of policewomen and men trained in the techniques of social welfare and the gradual acquaintance of the remaining members of the department with the purposes of this movement may well serve to humanize the police and eliminate some of the more questionable police methods which investigations sometimes reveal. Active police participation in crime prevention may also have fruitful results in instituting a more favorable relationship between the police and the public. The common association of the words "police" and "prohibited activity" may well be neutralized to some extent by the active efforts of the crime prevention division. The police executive thus may find one of the most important byproducts of a crime prevention program to be the improvement of relationships between police and public.

³¹Harrison, *op. cit.*, 142. See also Bruce Smith, "The Metropolitan Police Systems," in Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, *The Missouri Crime Survey* (New York, 1926), 51-52.

CHAPTER XVII

TRENDS IN MUNICIPAL POLICE ADMINISTRATION

The police function may lay claim to being one of the oldest among the many now found within the municipal fold. Long acceptance of police protection as a municipal function has not tended to develop perfection, however, for the police department continues as one of the most troublesome problems of the mayor or manager. Moreover, if we are to judge from periodical civic outbursts, the public on occasion likewise finds cause for complaint with its police department. In view of the acknowledged importance of police work and of the general if not universal dissatisfaction with police administration, it will be well at this time to examine some of the more important tendencies in the police field, and to appraise their promise for improvement. This evaluation will be based in part on the experiences of Texas police departments and in part on practice elsewhere. Stress is placed, however, on Texas experience. Some of the trends give rise to hope for the future; others evidence ignorance of or inattention to the police problem. In isolating these trends for convenience in discussion, sight should not be lost of the fact that each conditions all the rest, and that the various aspects of the police function, if viewed realistically, must be considered as a whole.

The Breakdown of Police Isolation

Paramount among the recent developments in municipal police administration is the breakdown of police isolation. The shrinkage of territory in point of time has served to expand the municipal police horizon despite the continued limitation of police efforts to city boundaries. The police have experienced increasingly intimate relations with municipal, state, and federal agencies. The impact of this new development on police administration has necessitated the opening of additional lines of relationships with other law enforcement agencies and to some extent has aided in the introduction of progressive techniques and practices. Paralleling this expansion of the police horizon is the increased mobility of criminals. Until recently crime was primarily a reflection of a

local situation; now the police must deal with criminals who work on a syndicate basis and who are equipped for speedy retreat to a safe jurisdiction.

The disappearance of police isolation is becoming evident within the limits of the municipality. Formerly the police dealt almost wholly with persons charged with traditional offenses. With the expansion of the regulatory activities of the municipal police, however, the ranks of those faced with possible police action have been swelled to include persons who live within the law, except for violations of regulatory prescriptions, and juvenile offenders. Traditional police attitudes and methods had no place for these non-criminals and as a result the police have had to seek assistance from welfare agencies. Women have obtained a permanent foothold in the police department and have introduced new approaches to juvenile delinquency and cases involving antisocial but not criminal activity. More than ever before the police are impelled to re-examine their position in municipal life and to part ways with the customary pattern of police thinking. The methods epitomized in the nightstick may leave something to be desired even in dealing with the old-fashioned burglar; they are wholly deficient in respect of many newer offenses and offenders.

The Expansion of Police Duties

In some part as a result of current trends in the transfer of many activities from the area of private to that of public administration, the police department has taken on new functions which have tended greatly to increase the complexity of police operations. This development is particularly in evidence in the fields of traffic regulation and crime prevention. Originally concerned with the direction of traffic movements at a few intersections, traffic regulation has come to occupy a position of equality with the remaining primary functions. With the growing volume of motor vehicle registrations and the increasing realization of the inadequacy of existing methods of traffic control, a place has had to be made for the engineer in the police organization. Traffic engineering tends to become a special field and the introduction of engineering approaches to the traffic problem has affected the traditional police outlook. A partial responsibility for traffic education reverses the

older police view and introduces the officer in the role of teacher. With the acceptance of police responsibility in the field of crime prevention many new techniques have been introduced which formerly were wholly foreign to the thought of the police chief.

The older primary functions themselves tend to become more complex. With the efforts to distribute police personnel on a more scientific basis, discoveries have been made of additional factors which necessarily must be taken into account. Patrol activity appears on the surface to be simple in character; a study of the activities of a particular patrolman, however, will reveal attention to many matters neglected or wholly unknown in the earlier days of the non-motorized police. The increasing complexity of the older police primary functions has been aided not only by an increase in police personnel but also by the expansion of police knowledge which has extended the formerly narrow limits of municipal crime control.

The Influence of Tradition

In spite of the breakdown of police isolation and the increasing complexity of police activity, tradition continues to lay a heavy hand on municipal police administration. Practices which have become fixed from years of routine observance are difficult to change or abandon. To decry the traditional because of age alone is to minimize the knowledge which has been amassed in the police field over a long period, but the many evidences of continued observance of routine practices in the face of successful innovations elsewhere seem to indicate that most police executives are followers rather than leaders. Indicative of the influence of tradition are the reputations of the few executives who have dared to explore the frontiers of police administration.

Police Science

In marked contrast with the repressive character of tradition in general administration is the rapid expansion in the field of police science. In fact, these two forces may be observed in actual conflict within the confines of a single department: a youthful officer desires to build up a police laboratory but finds his enthusiasm dulled through lack of support and encouragement by the executive

and commanding officers. Despite the weight of dead hands, however, the microscope and the test tube have gained a foothold in the department, and the rapidity with which scientific principles have been adopted has made necessary constant warnings by police scientists lest amateurs invade the field and demolish the results of years of careful experimentation. The general implications of police science are significant, however, in that the physical sciences are called on for assistance. This meeting of the scientist and the administrator cannot fail in time to influence the latter.

Deficiencies in Organization

Many of the current deficiencies in police administration are found on examination to be attributable to a neglect of organization. Almost without exception surveys of particular departments have revealed an amazing variety of divisions, many of which are independent and subject only to shadowy supervision by the executive. The direct effects of this neglect have been manifested most clearly through the absence of coördination among the several police divisions, which has led to a dispersal of the police personnel. Organization is of first significance in all departments which have reached the stage of specialization. The primary-auxiliary distinction is useful in that it differentiates the several police activities and lays stress on the primary functions which constitute the motive for the operation of the police department. Sociological, geographical, and chronological considerations enter to complicate the police organization.

Police Protection in Smaller Cities

Acceptance by the municipality of responsibility for providing protection in theory has made it necessary for each city, regardless of size, to provide some sort of organized police department. Yet an examination of the realities of the local situation emphasizes the futility of attempts on the part of the small city or town to furnish police protection. At some level the financial resources available for police expenditures are too limited to provide even the rudiments of organized crime control efforts. Moreover, the smallest cities are more rural than urban in character and their police needs may be distinguished from those of their more populous neighbors.

The tentative population level of 3,500 to 10,000 has been adopted as the dividing point here, although it is clearly realized that population alone is not an adequate index of municipal resources. If this dividing point is accepted, the scope of municipal police administration in Texas is restricted to those cities above this level which appear to be able to provide a modicum of specialization. It is not at all unlikely that similar studies elsewhere would reveal the same situation.

Evidence to substantiate this tentative conclusion is found in the fact that many cities below 10,000 population, and particularly those below 3,500 population, have abandoned completely the police function and rely upon county and state police agencies for protection. This in itself is a clear indication of the inability of many of the smaller cities to finance a police program. The alternatives available are to continue the present practice, to accept grants-in-aid from another level of government, or to look to the state for police protection. If the state enters the municipal field at the lower population levels, important questions concerning state-city relations are raised, and some diminution of municipal freedom may be expected.

The Police Executive

The developing complexity of municipal police activity has given added emphasis to the position of the executive. The modern police chief is not only a policeman; he is also a manager and must assume direct responsibility for the coördination of police efforts. In addition, his position as the embodiment of the supreme authority in the police organization calls for the exercise of leadership with all that term implies for improved morale, loyalty, and devotion to a common cause. The development of a class of police administrators continues to be handicapped by partisan interference, impermanent tenure, and the absence of the practice of intercity transfers. For this reason many suggestions are made which look to the isolation of the police department so as to diminish the more flagrant examples of partisanship. It is to be doubted, however, if the police can be so isolated even if desirable; and it is more probable that the quality of police administration will rise and fall with the tone of municipal government. The police department

must share the fortunes of war with the remaining branches of the municipal administration.

Particularly applicable to the Texas situation, though not peculiar to it, is the general lack of professional interests on the part of police executives. This situation is directly affected by the precarious character of the post of chief of police, but even where tenure is reasonably assured the same tendency may be noted. There are no professional associations in the state devoted to the advancement of police administration, and no journals to disseminate municipal achievements in the police field. The negligible membership of Texas police executives in the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the all-too-frequent lack of interest in advancements made elsewhere lend added weight to the conclusion that the development of a career system for police administrators is a future prospect only. The lack of police leadership is the one point of weakness in police administration which overshadows all other deficiencies.

Personnel

The most systematic efforts at improvement in police management have been devoted to personnel. With particular reference to Texas, the general statement may be made that remarkable advances have occurred in recent years. Questions are beginning to arise among police administrators as to the validity of the assumption that every able-bodied man can be made into a police officer by mere appointment. When police personnel accomplishments are viewed in the light of accepted practices in personnel administration, however, it is evident that only a beginning has been made. Personnel selection is affected by the low entrance requirements, the failure to adopt modern testing techniques, and the absence of systematic efforts to utilize the probationary period as a test of the recruiting process. These structures are subject to a few exceptions, but not many: only six cities in Texas undertake to conduct a formal program of personnel administration.

The distribution of police personnel in Texas cities is characterized by a failure on the part of executives to utilize the available manpower to the best advantage. The ebb and flow of police activity condition the dispersal of personnel on geographical and

chronological bases. Scientific beat construction is a necessity in any systematic attempt to apportion manpower on the basis of need. Moreover, the distribution of personnel among the various divisions may be influenced by outside pressure exerted to secure the expansion of a particular division without reference to the general program. Some beginnings have been made in a few of the larger Texas cities looking to the distribution of personnel on a more scientific basis; an equal division among the three eight-hour shifts, for example, is no longer common. Nevertheless, the general verdict at best is one of partial accomplishment, and this is assignable in the main to the inadequate record systems, which cannot be made to produce the necessary data required for personnel distribution. Accompanying this non-attention to personnel distribution is a failure to realize the possibilities of supervision. Personnel supervision is of primary importance in the traffic and patrol divisions, but the need is felt in all divisions. The supervisory possibilities of the position of patrol sergeant and the record division remain virtually unexplored. The absence of effective personnel supervision once more reflects deficiencies in police leadership and organization.

Examination of the compensation and working conditions of Texas policemen produces so many factors as to make simple comparisons inaccurate and in some instances misleading. Each department stands on its own bottom in the matter of salary scale. The forty-eight-hour week for patrolmen is still the goal save in a few cities. Studies of general averages indicate that the working conditions of patrolmen and industrial employees are not equal and often show the city in an unfavorable light. Retirement systems generally are actuarially unsound, while uncertainty as to their solvency balks needed separations from the service.

Police Training

The most remarkable recent development in Texas and throughout the nation has come in the field of police training. What results have been achieved or what direction the movement will take it is still much too early to say. With the recent entry of the federal government into the field of police training through the provisions of the George-Deen Act, and with the development of training

schools by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the State Department of Public Safety, it appears nevertheless that the training of police personnel is by way of receiving some long-needed attention. These developments bring highly important implications for the future advancement of municipal police administration.

Communication

The rapidity with which improved communication facilities have been adopted has tended to obscure the revolutionary character of radio communication in police administration. It is noteworthy that, contrary to the general trend, the usefulness of radio for police purposes was demonstrated by active experimentation by the police themselves and not by the work of some outside agency. Police efforts to conscript radio for crime control purposes began in the early days of its commercial development. With the further improvement of the police radio to include two-way communication, the executive is enabled to reduce the headquarters staff and to assign those relieved to active outside patrol, which permits the construction of smaller beats. Other important results of radio communication are more effective supervision and the consolidation or abolition of precinct stations. These developments have been aided by motorization of the active police personnel. Despite the widespread interest in radio communication, it may be noted that the telephone and telegraph continue to be essential to any complete communication system. Radio has supplemented but not supplanted the older types of communication.

Public Relations

In a few departments in the United States are found the beginnings of a systematic police program of public relations. To date the necessity of consulting civic groups and enlisting citizen aid has been realized most clearly in the program of traffic regulation. The question now arises as to the possibility of extending the public relations program to include the entire police front. Much police effort is not directly concerned with criminal apprehensions. In these instances the activities of the police constitute a product which can be "sold" to the public in much the same way as other

municipal services. If there is an inherent conflict between the objectives of police work and a public relations program, no conclusive evidence has been submitted as yet to prove this contention. Police experimentation may prove fruitful here as elsewhere.

Police Measurement

Attempts to introduce the concept of measurement as a tool for the executive have revealed the absence of clearly formulated police objectives. Variations in the number of functions performed by individual departments make difficult the introduction of uniformity as to the duties properly assignable to the police. Even with these variations, however, certain primary functions ordinarily are found in most departments. Efforts in the field of measurement have revealed the lack of sole police responsibility for many criminal offenses. Yet unless police records and public reporting are employed to advantage, the public tends to assume complete police responsibility for all offenses. Police measurement offers possibilities not only for administrative uses but also for the more accurate reporting of police activities.

Police Research

Many of the shortcomings which have been summarized are due to and are evidence of the lack of organized police research. Individual departments with a limited personnel have had to undertake experimentation in beat construction, radio communication, personnel distribution, and other uncharted portions of the police domain. The increasing interest in police training and the active assumption by the International Association of Chiefs of Police of a traffic safety program furnish excellent examples of what can be done by way of permanent research in and study of the problems of police administration. Systematization of police knowledge is a paramount necessity at the present time, and many of the basic methods employed by the municipal police as yet have not been made the subject of careful investigation. In the event that the duties of organized research are assumed by an outside agency, it is important to keep in mind the necessity of retaining the police view, since here as elsewhere prescriptions imposed from the outside are likely to receive a cool and perhaps a hostile reception. Considerations of economy have motivated many individual

surveys some of which have resulted in sweeping reorganizations not always in accord with police needs. It may be futile to expect administrative improvement to come from within the organization; if so, such organized research as is conducted must be carried on in as close association as possible with those actually engaged in police administration.

If the evaluations which have been made here seem not to be complimentary of municipal police administration in Texas, it may be some solace that similar studies in other fields of municipal operations undoubtedly would reveal like deficiencies. A growing interest in the development of progressive police practices, and more particularly the actual accomplishments of individual departments, have combined to set relatively high standards as a goal for attainment in the future. The very nature of police work and the tremendous strides forward which it has made of late years furnish ample proof that these standards are not too high.

The police were nurtured in the violent tradition of the frontier, and their general association with blazing guns and screaming sirens has served to continue this frontier flavor down to the present day. It matters little that many officers find it unnecessary to employ force for long periods of time; the public continues to think of the police in terms of spectacular incidents and tends to ignore or to forget the innumerable routine activities which form a sounder basis for an estimate of police efforts. While the police are confronted with the constant possibility of injury and even death, much of their work is deliberate and humdrum and completely devoid of the spectacular. It is this combination of violence and routine daily services which tends to set the police officer apart from his fellow municipal servants. Even here, where the repressive character of the state is most clearly manifested, the service aspect occupies a prominent position which will tend increasingly to minimize force and to emphasize intelligence as the principal bulwark of police administration.

APPENDIX

The data on which the present study is based were gathered by two methods. Field trips were made to a total of forty-one cities, including the fourteen over 40,000 population. A questionnaire was sent to all cities, and data suitable for use were received from 245 cities. Thus the tabular material is based on returns from 286 cities, comprising 40 per cent of the total of 595 incorporated municipalities in Texas as of June 1, 1937. If account be taken of 137 cities, or 23 per cent of the total, which do not report the

CITIES SUPPLYING POLICE DATA, BY POPULATION GROUPS, 1937

Population Groups	Total Number of Cities	Cities Supplying Data		Cities Reporting No Police Officer*		Percentage of Total Group Population in Cities Supplying Data
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
100,000 and over†	5	5	100.0	-----	-----	100.0
40,000-100,000	9	9	100.0	-----	-----	100.0
10,000-40,000	29	23	79.3	-----	-----	80.5
3,500-10,000	92	42	45.7	4	4.3	48.0
1,000-3,500	224	124	55.4	39	17.4	57.2
Under 1,000	236	83	35.2	94	39.8	39.6
Total	595	286	48.1	137	23.0	80.5

*Based on replies received by the League of Texas Municipalities in compiling its 1937 directory of Texas city officials.

†The largest city in this group is Houston with an estimated population of 318,000 in 1936.

employment of a chief of police or city marshal, it will be noted that only 172 cities, or 29 per cent of the total, are not included in the study, and of these 150 are below 3,500 population. Approximately four-fifths of the population of the state living within the limits of an incorporated city is included in the cities on which the study rests.

In view of the rapid growth of certain Texas cities since 1930 the census figures for that year were not employed in this study. Unless otherwise noted the population figures used for all cities over 2,500 population are those found in the 1937 Supplement of the

Texas Almanac. These population estimates are based on "special census enumerations, recent city directory counts, increase in scholastic population from 1930 to 1936, and residential construction." Except in those instances where a city's population has increased to 2,500 or more since 1930, all population figures for cities below 2,500 are those found in the census of 1930.

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